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Collections of The
State Historical Society

VOLUME V

O. G. LIBBY, Editor



GRAND FORKS, NORTH DAKOTA
1923

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GRAND FORKS, N. D.

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ERRATA

71. Elk creek for Elm creek.
74. intend for intned.
81, note 98. 1874 for 1847.
83. Thomson for Thompson.
120. Little for LITTLE.
134, note 1. Manitoba for Minnesota.

74.

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BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH DAKOTA.

	TERM EXPIRES
President, C. B. Little, Bismarck - - - -	March 31, 1925
Vice President, L. F. Crawford, Bismarck -	March 31, 1927
Secretary, O. G. Libby, Grand Forks - - -	March 31, 1927
Treasurer, J. L. Bell, Bismarck - - - -	March 31, 1925
I. A. Acker, Hillsboro - - - - -	March 31, 1927
L. E. Birdzell, Bismarck - - - - -	March 31, 1925
J. M. Gillette, Grand Forks - - - - -	March 31, 1927
G. Grimson, Langdon - - - - -	March 31, 1927
Geo. H. Hurtt, Hoople - - - - -	March 31, 1925
Sveinbjorn Johnson, Bismarck - - - - -	March 31, 1927
C. W. McDonnell, Bismarck - - - - -	March 31, 1925
J. A. Poppler, Grand Forks - - - - -	March 31, 1925
Geo. F. Shafer, Bismarck - - - - -	March 31, 1925
Victor Wardrope, Leeds - - - - -	March 31, 1927
Geo. F. Will, Bismarck - - - - -	March 31, 1927
Dana Wright, Jamestown - - - - -	March 31, 1925

Ex-officio directors: Governor, secretary of state, auditor, commissioner of agriculture and labor, and superintendent of public instruction.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Public Library, Langdon, Mrs. C. E. Johnston, Secretary.
C. B. Little, Bismarck.
C. A. Lounsberry, Washington, D. C.
Aldyth Ward, Bismarck.
George B. Winship, San Diego, California.

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

I. A. Acker, Hillsboro.	H. V. Arnold, Larimore.
A. E. F. Study Club, Ashley.	W. C. Badger, Mandan.
Mrs. W. L. Johnson, Sec.	Horace Bagley, Towner.
G. T. Almen, Northwood.	Tracy R. Bangs, Grand Forks.
Chas. F. Amidon, Fargo.	J. B. Beauchamp, Olga.

W. G. Bek, University.
 J. L. Bell, Bismarck.
 L. E. Birdzell, Bismarck.
 Olaf Bjerke, Abercrombie.
 R. M. Black, Ellendale.
 W. G. Black, Bismarck.
 O. G. Boisseau, Holden, Mo.
 M. M. Borman, Abercrombie.
 Mrs. J. L. Bowers, Mandan.
 M. A. Brannon, Helena, Mont.
 Samuel J. Brown, Browns Valley, Minnesota.
 O. E. Bryant, New England.
 Robert Byrne, Arnegard.
 Mrs. John Carmody, Hillsboro.
 Mrs. E. E. Carothers, Grand Forks.
 J. L. Cashel, Grafton.
 A. M. Christianson, Bismarck.
 Geo. B. Clifford, 1715 Dupont Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
 J. E. Clifford, 325 Clifton Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Stephen Collins, Grand Forks.
 M. J. Connolly, New England.
 Chas. M. Cooley, Grand Forks.
 L. F. Crawford, Bismarck.
 Mrs. Mattie M. Davis, Fargo.
 Dawson Fortnightly Club, Dawson.
 David Debra, Montpelier.
 Rev. Clemens Dimpfl, Mandan.
 Dickinson Public Library, Dickinson.
 Walter F. Dodge, Thompson.
 Mary F. Downey, Bismarck.
 Sister Ursula Dunlevy, Grand Forks.
 J. C. Eaton, Denbigh.

Dr. J. E. Engsted, Grand Forks.
 Hansen Evesmith, Fargo.
 Fargo Forum, Fargo.
 John D. Farrand, Fargo.
 Carl Fisher, Jamestown.
 H. C. Fish, Ellensburg, Wash., State Normal School.
 G. A. Fraser, Bismarck.
 Mrs. Harold C. Fraser, Grand Forks.
 Edwin Frey, Jamestown.
 C. G. Gannon, Bismarck.
 John M. Gillette, Grand Forks.
 M. R. Gilmore, Bismarck.
 E. S. Godfrey, Cookstown, N. J.
 R. Goer, Devils Lake.
 Dr. J. Grasick, Grand Forks.
 G. Grimson, Langdon.
 B. E. Groom, Langdon.
 Frank D. Hall, Fargo.
 Fay A. Harding, Bismarck.
 Mrs. F. M. Heath, Grand Forks.
 Ellen Hedrick, Bismarck.
 E. E. Heerman, Devils Lake.
 W. D. Henry, Wahpeton.
 E. C. Hilborn, Valley City.
 Mrs. M. A. Hildreth, Fargo.
 A. I. Hunter, Grand Forks.
 Geo. H. Hurtt, Hoople.
 James Memorial Library, Williston.
 Mrs. M. H. Jewell, Bismarck.
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 R. H. Johnson, Fullerton.
 Sveinbjorn Johnson, Bismarck.

Elmer T. Judd, Cando.
J. A. Kitchin, Bismarck.
A. J. Ladd, Grand Forks.
Wm. Langer, Bismarck.
B. C. Lankin, Brantford.
Emma Larson, Lignite.
Chas. H. Lee, Walhalla.
Mrs. J. L. Lee, Velva.
Mrs. W. S. Lauder, Wahpeton.
O. G. Libby, Grand Forks.
Chas. Liessmann, Bismarck.
Albert Linn, Bisbee.
Alma Lutz, 22 River St., Boston, Mass.
C. W. McDonnell, Bismarck.
Annie McCradie, Williston.
W. C. McDowell, Marion.
G. A. McFarland, Minot.
J. W. McHose, Fargo.
Mrs. W. A. McIntyre, Grand Forks.
John Mahan, Langdon.
John W. Maher, Devils Lake.
John Moses, Hazen.
W. K. Nash, Grand Forks.
R. A. Nestos, Bismarck.
Hazel B. Nielson, Bismarck.
Minnie J. Nielson, Bismarck.
Herman J. Naugle, Devils Lake.
Mary E. M. Owens, Bismarck.
J. A. Poppler, Grand Forks.
Mrs. J. A. Poppler, Grand Forks.
W. D. Powell, Jud.
Public Library Commission, Bismarck.
S. J. Radcliffe, Larimore.
Alexander Reid, Hannah.
Russell Reid, Bismarck.

W. J. Robinson, Alexander.
Mrs. James E. Rockwell, Fargo.
A. G. Schultheiss, Grand Forks.
Major Gen. Hugh L. Scott, Princeton, N. J.
Sister St. Guirec, Willow City.
Geo. F. Shafer, Bismarck.
Lena D. Sheptenko, Bismarck.
Ellen J. Shimmin, Crystal.
Archie Sillers, Calvin.
H. E. Simpson, Grand Forks.
Fred Smith, Jamestown.
Walter E. Spokesfield, Jamestown.
K. G. A. Springer, Fargo.
Alex. Steinbach, Jamestown.
Mrs. Jean McNaughten Stevens, Towner.
Mrs. Mary Strand, Ellendale.
Mrs. W. S. Stratton, Bismarck.
H. M. Stroud, Wimbledon.
Mrs. F. H. Sturgeon, Edgeley.
Andrew Thorson, Hatton.
Samuel Torgerson, Grand Forks.
Allen L. Truax, Crosby.
Bishop J. P. Tyler, Fargo.
Victor Wardrobe, Leeds.
Rev. Jonathan Watson, Mankato, Minn.
Mrs. C. D. Wheeler, Hope.
C. D. White, 2616 Emerson Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Geo. F. Will, Bismarck.
Geo. O. Wong, Grand Forks.
Major Dana Wright, Jamestown.
J. C. Wright, Jamestown.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH DAKOTA

Article 1—The name of the society shall be the State Historical Society of North Dakota. Its principal place of business shall be Bismarck, North Dakota. Its duration shall be perpetual. It is organized under chapter 3 (compiled laws of 1887, being the general incorporation laws), for the purpose of collecting and preserving historical records and matter pertaining to the history of North Dakota.

Article 2—The number of the directors of this society shall be sixteen. Eight of these directors shall hold office until March 31, 1905, and eight of them shall hold office until March 31, 1907. The present board of directors shall elect eleven additional members, and they shall also determine the length of term of each of these members, but all future directors and officers shall hold office for four years, or until their successors are elected and qualified. Its first board of directors shall be as follows: Clement A. Lounsberry, Fargo, N. D., president; Linda W. Slaughter, Bismarck, N. D., vice-president and corresponding secretary; Marshall H. Jewell, Bismarck, N. D., second vice-president; Warren C. Baker, Grand Forks, N. D., treasurer; Walter F. Cushing, Fargo, N. D., recording secretary. They shall hold office until their successors are elected and qualified as provided for in the bylaws of the society. The directors may elect one of their number corresponding secretary.

Article 3—Should the state of North Dakota appoint an historical commission, naming the president of this society as one of that commission, it shall be the duty of the board of directors to act in harmony with said commission in the matter of collecting and preserving the records, relics and general information pertaining to the early history of North Dakota.

The society shall also make such collection of material as relates more particularly to the history of the west and of Canada, but the board of directors shall have full power to determine what shall be collected by the society and how it shall be used.

Article 4—This society may acquire the necessary real estate for the transaction of its business and the preservation of its records by purchase, bequest, contribution or subscription, or from payment of dues, or sales of its publications, and other property by the same means, not exceeding \$50,000, but should the society be dissolved by the voluntary action of its members or otherwise, its property shall pass into the hands of a receiver, to be appointed by any court having jurisdiction, who shall settle all debts of the corporation, turning over to the state whatever may remain after the settlement of the debts.

Article 5—The debts of the society, except for the purchase of real estate, shall not exceed \$1,000, and for the purchase of real estate to be used in the necessary transaction of business, \$2,000. No

member of the society shall be liable for the debts of the society beyond the amount of his unpaid dues, as fixed by the bylaws of the society.

BY-LAWS.

Article 1—Section 1. The regular meetings of the society shall be held biennially at the principal place of business at such time during the month of January as the board of directors may determine.

Section 2. Special meetings may be called by the president or secretary upon the written request of any other three members.

Section 3. There shall be held each year at Bismarck, N. D., a meeting of the society, at which papers shall be read by members and such program carried out as shall be provided for by the board of directors. A second meeting shall be held annually in the state, at such time and in such city or place as shall be fixed by the board.

Section 4. Notices of all meetings shall be sent by the secretary to every member of the society.

Article 2—Section 1. The officers of this society shall consist of a president, a vice-president, a secretary, a treasurer, and a board of directors.

Section 2. The board of directors shall be elected by ballot from among the members at the regular meetings of the society, and the members of this board shall hold office for four years or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Section 3. The remaining officers of the society shall be elected by the board of directors from among their number. The duties of these officers shall be such as usually devolve upon such officers.

Section 4. In addition to his usual duties, the president shall sign all legal documents for the society as its official representative.

Section 5. The treasurer shall pay all warrants on the treasury signed by the secretary. At the regular meeting he shall make a full report of all receipts and expenditures.

It shall further be his duty to sign all state vouchers covering expenditures for the running expenses of the library and museum at the state capitol, such as postage, telephone, freight, express and drayage, and such other incidentals as may arise from the current needs. The treasurer shall make a monthly report to the secretary of all such expenditures.

Section 6. The secretary shall countersign all documents signed by the president and no such documents shall be valid unless so countersigned. He shall keep the records of the society and of the board of directors and he shall have charge of and be responsible for all documents, manuscripts, and other collections in possession of the society. He shall edit its publications, conduct its correspondence, and shall in general act as the principal administrative officer of the society. He shall collect membership dues, receive all other moneys of the society and transmit the same to the treasurer.

It shall further be the duty of the secretary, under the advice of the board of directors, to make such collection, exchange and loan of historical material as shall best further the interests of the society. He shall, as soon as practicable, catalogue and arrange the collections of the society, and for this purpose he may appoint a librarian and such other officers as may be needed.

Until otherwise provided for, the office of the secretary shall be at Grand Forks, N. D.

Section 7. Meetings of the board of directors may be called by the president or the secretary, and these meetings shall be held at Bismarck, N. D., unless in the call some other place is designated by and with the consent of a majority of the ex-officio directors of the society. The board of directors shall appoint officers to fill all vacancies until the next regular meeting of the society. They shall fix the time and place for all meetings of the society and arrange programs for all literary meetings.

Section 8. All property of the society shall be under the control of the board of directors, who shall decide upon the place or places where the collections of the society shall be kept. They shall have power, also to make such use of the funds and property of the society as may seem to them necessary and proper for carrying into effect the purposes of the organization.

Section 9. The board of directors may require any officer of the society to give bonds for the faithful performance of his duty; the amount of the bond shall be fixed by the board.

Section 10. Any officer of the society may be removed from office by the board of directors for cause, provided he be given ten days' notice of such intended action. No such action shall be taken except upon a two-thirds' vote of the whole number of directors, and unless each member of the board shall be notified of such intended action ten days before the meeting.

Section 11. Six honorary vice-presidents may be appointed biennially by the board of directors upon nomination of the society at its regular meeting.

Article 3—Section 1. The members of this society shall be chosen by the board of directors and shall consist of annual, life and honorary members.

Section 2. The membership dues shall be twenty-five dollars for life members and two dollars yearly for annual members. Arrears in dues shall be considered a cause for dropping any member from the roll of the society.

Section 3. Honorary members shall be chosen by the society at the regular meetings upon nomination by the board of directors.

Section 4. The surviving members of the Ladies' Historical Society of Bismarck and North Dakota—Mrs. Linda W. Slaughter, Mrs. Christina A. Dunn and Mrs. Phoebe Marsh—shall be considered honorary members of the society. These members shall retain the right of voting at all meetings of the society.

Section 5. Members unable to attend the meetings of the society may send proxies with such powers as they may choose to confer.

Article 4—Section 1. All by-laws previously adopted by the society are hereby repealed.

Section 2. Each member shall be entitled to receive all publications of the society.

Sections 3. Branch societies may be organized whenever, in the judgment of the board of directors, such organizations are called for.

Section 4. There shall be issued biennially by the society a publication containing such historical material as may be considered by the secretary as worthy of preservation in this form.

Section 5. The fiscal year of the society shall begin on the first day of April and end on the last day of March.

Section 6. The historical commission is hereby designated as custodian of the property of the society which may be from time to time deposited in the rooms of the society at the state capitol.

Article 5—Section 1. This constitution and by-laws may be amended at any regular meeting of the State Historical Society, providing previous notice of such amendment be given at a regular meeting, and provided that the amendment be approved by the board of directors.



NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED BY THE N. D. STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OCT. 15, 1923.

DAILY—North Dakota.

Bismarck Daily Tribune	- - - - -	Bismarck, N. D.
Daily Times Record	- - - - -	Valley City, N. D.
Devils Lake Journal	- - - - -	Devils Lake, N. D.
Fargo Daily Tribune	- - - - -	Fargo, N. D.
Fargo Forum	- - - - -	Fargo, N. D.
Grand Forks Herald (Even. Ed.)	- - - - -	Grand Forks, N. D.
Grand Forks Herald (Morn. Ed.)	- - - - -	Grand Forks, N. D.
Jamestown Daily Alert	- - - - -	Jamestown, N. D.
Mandan Daily Pioneer	- - - - -	Mandan, N. D.
Minot Daily News	- - - - -	Minot, N. D.

WEEKLY—North Dakota.

Adams County Record	- - - - -	Hettinger, N. D.
Adams Standard	- - - - -	Adams, N. D.
Anamoose Progress	- - - - -	Anamoose, N. D.
Aneta Panorama	- - - - -	Aneta, N. D.
Arthur News	- - - - -	Hunter, N. D.
Ashley Tribune	- - - - -	Ashley, N. D.
Bantry Advocate	- - - - -	Bantry, N. D.
Barnes County Citizen	- - - - -	Valley City, N. D.
Beach Advance	- - - - -	Beach, N. D.
Belfield Review	- - - - -	Belfield, N. D.
Benson County Farmers Press	- - - - -	Minnewaukan, N. D.
Berthold Tribune	- - - - -	Berthold, N. D.
Beulah Independent	- - - - -	Beulah, N. D.
Billings County Pioneer	- - - - -	Fryburg, N. D.
Binford Times	- - - - -	Binford, N. D.
Bisbee Gazette	- - - - -	Bisbee, N. D.
Bismarck Capitol	- - - - -	Bismarck, N. D.
Bottineau Courant	- - - - -	Bottineau, N. D.
Bowbells Tribune	- - - - -	Bowbells, N. D.
Bowman County Pioneer	- - - - -	Bowman, N. D.
Brinsmade Star	- - - - -	Brinsmade, N. D.
Buffalo Express	- - - - -	Buffalo, N. D.
Calvin Times	- - - - -	Calvin, N. D.
Cando Herald	- - - - -	Cando, N. D.
Cando Record	- - - - -	Cando, N. D.
Carson Press	- - - - -	Carson, N. D.
Cass County Tribune	- - - - -	Page, N. D.
Casselton Reporter	- - - - -	Casselton, N. D.
Cavalier County Republican	- - - - -	Langdon, N. D.
Center Republican	- - - - -	Center, N. D.
Churches Ferry Sun	- - - - -	Churches Ferry, N. D.
Cogswell Enterprise	- - - - -	Cogswell, N. D.
Courtenay Gazette	- - - - -	Courtenay, N. D.

Crystal Call	-	-	-	-	-	-	Crystal, N. D.
Dakota State Journal	-	-	-	-	-	-	Minot, N. D.
Dazey Commercial	-	-	-	-	-	-	Dazey, N. D.
Denhoff Voice	-	-	-	-	-	-	Denhoff, N. D.
Devils Lake World	-	-	-	-	-	-	Devils Lake, N. D.
Dickey County Leader	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ellendale, N. D.
Dickinson Press	-	-	-	-	-	-	Dickinson, N. D.
Divide County Farmers Press	-	-	-	-	-	-	Crosby, N. D.
Divide County Journal	-	-	-	-	-	-	Crosby, N. D.
Dogden News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Dogden, N. D.
Donnybrook Courier	-	-	-	-	-	-	Donnybrook, N. D.
Drake Register	-	-	-	-	-	-	Drake, N. D.
Drayton Echo	-	-	-	-	-	-	Drayton, N. D.
Dunn County Spotlight	-	-	-	-	-	-	Werner, N. D.
Dunn Farmers' Journal	-	-	-	-	-	-	Dunn Center, N. D.
Edgeley Mail	-	-	-	-	-	-	Edgeley, N. D.
Enderlin Independent	-	-	-	-	-	-	Enderlin, N. D.
Egeland Enterprise	-	-	-	-	-	-	Egeland, N. D.
Elgin News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Elgin, N. D.
Emmons County Free Press	-	-	-	-	-	-	Linton, N. D.
Emmons County Record	-	-	-	-	-	-	Linton, N. D.
Fairmount News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fairmount, N. D.
Fargo Blade	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fargo, N. D.
Farmer Labor Monitor	-	-	-	-	-	-	Bowman, N. D.
Farmer Labor State Record	-	-	-	-	-	-	Bismarck, N. D.
Farmers' Advocate	-	-	-	-	-	-	Bottineau, N. D.
Farmers' Press	-	-	-	-	-	-	Amidon, N. D.
Farmers' Provost	-	-	-	-	-	-	New Rockford, N. D.
Farmers' Sentinel	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ellendale, N. D.
Fingal Herald	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fingal, N. D.
Flasher Tribune	-	-	-	-	-	-	Flasher, N. D.
Flaxton Times	-	-	-	-	-	-	Flaxton, N. D.
Foster County Independent	-	-	-	-	-	-	Carrington, N. D.
Gascoyne News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Gascoyne, N. D.
Glenburn Advance	-	-	-	-	-	-	Glenburn, N. D.
Glen Ullin News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Glen Ullin, N. D.
Golden Valley American	-	-	-	-	-	-	Golden Valley, N. D.
Grafton News and Times	-	-	-	-	-	-	Grafton, N. D.
Granville Herald	-	-	-	-	-	-	Granville, N. D.
Grenora Examiner	-	-	-	-	-	-	Grenora, N. D.
Griggs County Sentinel Courier	-	-	-	-	-	-	Cooperstown, N. D.
Halliday Promoter	-	-	-	-	-	-	Halliday, N. D.
Hampden News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Hampden, N. D.
Hankinson News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Hankinson, N. D.
Hannaaford Enterprise	-	-	-	-	-	-	Hannaaford, N. D.
Harvey Herald	-	-	-	-	-	-	Harvey, N. D.
Hastings Herald	-	-	-	-	-	-	Hastings, N. D.
Hatton Free Press	-	-	-	-	-	-	Hatton, N. D.
Havana Herald	-	-	-	-	-	-	Havana, N. D.
Havana Union	-	-	-	-	-	-	Havana, N. D.

Hazelton Independent	-	-	-	-	Hazelton, N. D.
Hazen Star	-	-	-	-	Hazen, N. D.
Hebron Herald	-	-	-	-	Hebron, N. D.
Hettinger County Herald	-	-	-	-	New England, N. D.
Hillsboro Banner	-	-	-	-	Hillsboro, N. D.
Hope Pioneer	-	-	-	-	Hope, N. D.
Hunter Herald	-	-	-	-	Hunter, N. D.
Independent Reporter	-	-	-	-	Foreman, N. D.
Inkster Enterprise	-	-	-	-	Inkster, N. D.
International	-	-	-	-	Portal, N. D.
Jamestown Weekly Alert	-	-	-	-	Jamestown, N. D.
Kathryn Recorder	-	-	-	-	Kathryn, N. D.
Kenmare News	-	-	-	-	Kenmare, N. D.
Kensal Progress	-	-	-	-	Kensal, N. D.
Kidder County Farmers' Press	-	-	-	-	Steele, N. D.
Killdeer Herald	-	-	-	-	Killdeer, N. D.
Kindred Tribune	-	-	-	-	Kindred, N. D.
Knox Advocate	-	-	-	-	Knox, N. D.
Kulm Messenger	-	-	-	-	Kulm, N. D.
Lakota American	-	-	-	-	Lakota, N. D.
La Moure County Chronicle	-	-	-	-	La Moure, N. D.
Lansford Journal	-	-	-	-	Lansford, N. D.
Larimore Pioneer	-	-	-	-	Larimore, N. D.
Lawton Republican	-	-	-	-	Lawton, N. D.
Leeds News	-	-	-	-	Leeds, N. D.
Lidgerwood Journal	-	-	-	-	Lidgerwood, N. D.
Lidgerwood Monitor	-	-	-	-	Lidgerwood, N. D.
Lisbon Free Press	-	-	-	-	Lisbon, N. D.
Litchville Bulletin	-	-	-	-	Litchville, N. D.
McCluskey Gazette	-	-	-	-	McCluskey, N. D.
McKenzie County Chronicle	-	-	-	-	Alexander, N. D.
McKenzie County Farmer	-	-	-	-	Arnegard, N. D.
McLean County Independent	-	-	-	-	Garrison, N. D.
McVile Journal	-	-	-	-	McVile, N. D.
Maddock Standard	-	-	-	-	Maddock, N. D.
Makoti Sentinel	-	-	-	-	Makoti, N. D.
Mandan News	-	-	-	-	Mandan, N. D.
Mandan Pioneer	-	-	-	-	Mandan, N. D.
Marion Sentinel	-	-	-	-	Marion, N. D.
Marmarth Mail	-	-	-	-	Marmarth, N. D.
Mayville Tribune	-	-	-	-	Mayville, N. D.
Mercer County Farmer	-	-	-	-	Stanton, N. D.
Milton Globe	-	-	-	-	Milton, N. D.
Minto Journal	-	-	-	-	Minto, N. D.
Montpelier Magnet	-	-	-	-	Montpelier, N. D.
Mott Pioneer Press	-	-	-	-	Mott, N. D.
Mountrail County Promoter	-	-	-	-	Stanley, N. D.
Mouse River Farmers' Press	-	-	-	-	Towner, N. D.
Napoleon Homestead	-	-	-	-	Napoleon, N. D.
Neché Chronotype	-	-	-	-	Neché, N. D.

Nelson County Arena	-	-	-	-	-	Michigan, N. D.
New Leipzig Sentinel	-	-	-	-	-	New Leipzig, N. D.
New Rockford Transcript	-	-	-	-	-	New Rockford, N. D.
New Salem Journal	-	-	-	-	-	New Salem, N. D.
Noonan Miner	-	-	-	-	-	Noonan, N. D.
North Dakota Eagle	-	-	-	-	-	Willow City, N. D.
North Dakota Leader	-	-	-	-	-	Fargo, N. D.
Northwest Press	-	-	-	-	-	Minot, N. D.
Northwood Gleaner	-	-	-	-	-	Northwood, N. D.
Oakes Times	-	-	-	-	-	Oakes, N. D.
Osnabrook Record	-	-	-	-	-	Osnabrook, N. D.
Parshall Plainsman	-	-	-	-	-	Parshall, N. D.
Pekin Budget	-	-	-	-	-	Pekin, N. D.
Peoples Opinion	-	-	-	-	-	Valley City, N. D.
Petersburg Record	-	-	-	-	-	Petersburg, N. D.
Pierce County Tribune	-	-	-	-	-	Rugby, N. D.
Pioneer Express	-	-	-	-	-	Pembina, N. D.
Plaza Pioneer	-	-	-	-	-	Plaza, N. D.
Portland Republican	-	-	-	-	-	Portland, N. D.
Powers Lake Echo	-	-	-	-	-	Powers Lake, N. D.
Prairie Press	-	-	-	-	-	Gwinner, N. D.
Ransom County Gazette	-	-	-	-	-	Lisbon, N. D.
Ray Pioneer	-	-	-	-	-	Ray, N. D.
Recorder Post	-	-	-	-	-	Dickinson, N. D.
Regent Times	-	-	-	-	-	Regent, N. D.
Renville County Farmers' Press	-	-	-	-	-	Mohall, N. D.
Reynolds Enterprise	-	-	-	-	-	Reynolds, N. D.
Rhame Review	-	-	-	-	-	Rhame, N. D.
Richland County Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	Wahpeton, N. D.
Rogers Citizen	-	-	-	-	-	Rogers, N. D.
Rolette Record	-	-	-	-	-	Rolette, N. D.
Ryder News and Tribune	-	-	-	-	-	Ryder, N. D.
Saint Thomas Times	-	-	-	-	-	St. Thomas, N. D.
Sanborn Enterprise	-	-	-	-	-	Sanborn, N. D.
Sanish Sentinel	-	-	-	-	-	Sanish, N. D.
Sargent County News	-	-	-	-	-	Forman, N. D.
Sargent County Sentinel	-	-	-	-	-	Cayuga, N. D.
Sargent County Teller	-	-	-	-	-	Milnor, N. D.
Sarles Advocate	-	-	-	-	-	Sarles, N. D.
Selfridge Journal	-	-	-	-	-	Selfridge, N. D.
Sharon Reporter	-	-	-	-	-	Sharon, N. D.
Sheldon Progress	-	-	-	-	-	Sheldon, N. D.
Sherwood Tribune	-	-	-	-	-	Sherwood, N. D.
Sheyenne Star	-	-	-	-	-	Sheyenne, N. D.
Sioux County Pioneer	-	-	-	-	-	Fort Yates, N. D.
Slope County News	-	-	-	-	-	Amidon, N. D.
Stanley Sun	-	-	-	-	-	Mountrail, N. D.
Starkweather Times	-	-	-	-	-	Starkweather, N. D.
State Democrat	-	-	-	-	-	Fargo, N. D.
Steele County Farmers' Press	-	-	-	-	-	Finley, N. D.

Steele Ozone	-	-	-	-	-	-	Steele, N. D.
Stutsman County Citizen	-	-	-	-	-	-	Jamestown, N. D.
Stutsman County Democrat	-	-	-	-	-	-	Jamestown, N. D.
Stutsman County Leader	-	-	-	-	-	-	Cleveland, N. D.
Sutton Reporter	-	-	-	-	-	-	Sutton, N. D.
Sykeston News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Sykeston, N. D.
Teachers College Budget	-	-	-	-	-	-	Valley City, N. D.
Tioga Gazette	-	-	-	-	-	-	Tioga, N. D.
Tolna Tribune	-	-	-	-	-	-	Tolna, N. D.
Tower City Topics	-	-	-	-	-	-	Tower City, N. D.
Tri-County Sun	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fordville, N. D.
Turtle Lake Wave	-	-	-	-	-	-	Turtle Lake, N. D.
Turtle Mountain Star	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rolla, N. D.
Tuttle Times	-	-	-	-	-	-	Tuttle, N. D.
Van Hook Reporter	-	-	-	-	-	-	Van Hook, N. D.
Velva Journal	-	-	-	-	-	-	Velva, N. D.
Wahpeton Globe	-	-	-	-	-	-	Wahpeton, N. D.
Walcott Reporter	-	-	-	-	-	-	Walcott, N. D.
Walhalla Mountaineer	-	-	-	-	-	-	Walhalla, N. D.
Walsh County Farmers' Press	-	-	-	-	-	-	Park River, N. D.
Walsh County Record	-	-	-	-	-	-	Grafton, N. D.
Ward County Independent	-	-	-	-	-	-	Minot, N. D.
Washburn Leader	-	-	-	-	-	-	Washburn, N. D.
Watford Guide	-	-	-	-	-	-	Watford, N. D.
Weekly Spectrum	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fargo, (A. C.) N. D.
Wells County Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fessenden, N. D.
Wells County Free Press	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fessenden, N. D.
Western Call	-	-	-	-	-	-	Reeder, N. D.
Westhope Standard	-	-	-	-	-	-	Westhope, N. D.
Wildrose Mixer	-	-	-	-	-	-	Wildrose, N. D.
Williams County Farmers' Press	-	-	-	-	-	-	Williston, N. D.
Williston Herald	-	-	-	-	-	-	Williston, N. D.
Wilton News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Wilton, N. D.
Wimbledon News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Wimbledon, N. D.
Wishek News	-	-	-	-	-	-	Wishek, N. D.
Wolford Mirror	-	-	-	-	-	-	Wolford, N. D.
Woodworth Rustler	-	-	-	-	-	-	Woodworth, N. D.
Wyndmere Herald	-	-	-	-	-	-	Wyndmere, N. D.
York Journal	-	-	-	-	-	-	York, N. D.
Zap Enterprise	-	-	-	-	-	-	Zap, N. D.

NORTH DAKOTA FOREIGN LANGUAGE WEEKLIES.

Nord Dakota Herald	-	-	-	-	-	Dickinson, N. D.
Nordlicht	-	-	-	-	-	Bismarck, N. D.
Normanden	-	-	-	-	-	Grand Forks, N. D.
Volksfreund	-	-	-	-	-	Richardton, N. D.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE WEEKLIES—OUTSIDE THE STATE.

Decorah-Posten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Decorah, Ia.
Heimskringla	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Manitoba, (Winnipeg)
Logberg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Winnipeg, Man.
Siirtolainen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Duluth, Minn.
Skandinaven	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Chicago, Ill.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Rural Independent—monthly	-	-	-	-	-	Fargo, N. D.
Associated News Service (Photos)						
Chicago Journal of Commerce—daily	-	-	-	-	-	Chicago, Ill.
Journal of Labor—weekly	-	-	-	-	-	Atlanta, Ga.
Workers' Journal—bi-monthly	-	-	-	-	-	Cincinnati, Ohio



A SKETCH OF DAVID MONTGOMERY HOLMES

By Grace Greenwood

The Holmes family is of English descent. Obadiah Holmes was born in Preston, Lancaster County, England, in 1607. He died at Newport, Rhode Island, October 15, 1682.

A genealogical table of the early members of the American branch has been compiled but the printed table ends with Jonathan, the second son of Jonathan and Sarah Borden Holmes and the grandson of Obadiah.¹

Jonathan, Jr., had nine children. To his son William was born Cornelius, to Cornelius was born Hugh, and Hugh Holmes was the father of David Montgomery Holmes.²

Hugh Holmes was born in 1807 and died December 24, 1884.³ On March 26, 1839, he was married to Jane Love. To them were born five children: Sarah Ann, born April 19, 1840; Rob-

¹ The genealogical table referred to above was obtained from Munsell and Company, Albany, New York.

² To Cornelius and his wife, ——— Watt (first name not known), were born twenty-one children, twelve of whom reached maturity and were named as follows: Charles, John, Hugh, James, Robert, Thomas, Cornelius, Rebecca, Martha, Mary Jane, Rueben and Samuel.

³ Hugh Holmes came to Grand Forks in April, 1882, making his home with D. M. Holmes until his death December 24, 1884.

ert Bruce, April 1, 1842; Mary Elizabeth, September 28, 1845; Margaret Jane, July 2, 1848; David Montgomery, July 29, 1851.

Jane Love, the daughter of Robert and Sarah Hemphill Love, was born in 1809. Her parents were born in Londonderry, Ireland, and the parish church has the records of the births, deaths, marriages in the parish register.

The father and grandfather were weavers of linen and Robert Love continued in this industry even after he had located in America. From Ireland they came to Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, near the town of Milton, and the elder Love wove, as had his forefathers, fine linen cloth and also rough weaves, as the linsey woolsey, a combination of linen and woolen. He also wove woolen cloth.

David Montgomery Holmes was born at Locust Grove, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, on July 29, 1851.⁴ His father, a blacksmith, operated a shop in the village and farmed a plot of land belonging to him and close to the town.

Young David attended the village school with the exception of one year, 1860 and 1861, when

⁴ The information given in this sketch and the various details growing out of the narration are here written with strict adherence to the facts as given in numerous interviews with Mr. Holmes by Miss Greenwood. [Ed.]

he attended a private school conducted by his cousin, Joseph Castle.⁵

Mr. Castle, a college man, gave advanced work for older boys and young men. It would seem the placing of the boy David in this school was chiefly to give patronage to a family connection. He and another boy, Isaac George, who was younger than David, passed tedious hours here, neglected by the one employed to teach them, for their recitations and lesson assignments were irregular—at times a week would pass while they, forgotten, idled at their desks. Out of the neglected lesson hours the boys developed a pastime. They watched the logs in rafts and drive floating on the Susquehanna to the cities below and counted them, each trying to score the greater count, and from this formed an interest in the country up river from whence they came. When David Holmes was fourteen his mother died. He remained at home that winter and in the spring started to work, away from home. He was employed for a time in the brickyard, on the canal, at a saw mill, also in a drug store.

Homesick and missing the mother who was gone, he came home for a short visit during that first summer, reaching home when the rose bush

⁵ In 1861 Joseph Castle organized Company F 7th Volunteer Cavalry, Pennsylvania. The students of his school, to a man, joined his company. Only the two little boys were left with hearts filled with envy for those whose years made service possible.

Lieutenant Castle died at Bardstown, Kentucky, during the first fall or winter from disease contracted while in service.

that climbed upon the porch framed the doorway with a profusion of blossoms. To the homesick boy it was the most beautiful sight in the whole world. In July, 1867, he went up into the northern part of Elk County to the logging camp of Peck Barnard and Company. The logs he had so often seen floating past the Castle school were cut in Elk County. The lumber camps employed as many men as they could get. The unrest of the employes created numerous vacancies.

This company operated a good sized camp on Laurel Run and employed perhaps a hundred men. From Milton, Holmes went by rail to St. Mary's in Elk County and walked to the camp, a distance of sixteen miles. The camp post office was Caledonia, four miles distant, a stage line operating from St. Mary's to Brockport carrying mail in twice a week.

The cutting in Elk County was of pine. The logs cut were floated down the Susquehanna to Williamsport, the market for Peck Barnard and Company, where they were sawed into lumber.

Holmes learned that this camp was short a sawyer so he applied for the job.⁶ The only qualification he could offer was his imperative need

⁶ There were eight men in each crew that worked: two fellers, two sawyers, and four peelers. The fellers chopped down the tree and with their axes sliced the end straight and smooth, and trimmed off the branches. The sawyers then together operating the long cross cut saw cut the tree into twelve, fourteen or sixteen foot lengths, according to the length of board desired. The peelers stripped off the bark, there being a law to the effect that all logs driven on the rivers of Pennsylvania should be peeled to prevent jams.

for work. He was taken and set to filing a cross cut saw. The foreman, watching, saw at once that he was inexperienced so assigned him to the cook for a helper.

In a lumber camp much of the success in operation depends upon the quality and quantity of the food served. The men are usually an aggressive type, nomadic and ready to walk out at any real or imaginary grievance.

The Peck Barnard Company took good care of their men. The superintendent, Wm. Barrows, owned considerable stock in the company. The breakfasts usually consisted of hot biscuits, baked pork and beans, dried apples in sauce, bread and butter with syrup and coffee. Dinner and supper were similar with the exception that at noon potatoes were added and fried pork, with tea instead of coffee. On Sunday the meals were more elaborate. At dinner roast meat, often turkey, was served and mince pie and doughnuts made the dessert.

The sleeping quarters were provided by a bunk house with shelves or bunks in tiers of two. Each bunk was provided with straw filled ticks and a pair of blankets accommodated two men.

The above description of the Peck Barnard Company's camp was a fair general description of the camps in the locality at that time. There was one exception, however. Jake Brown, an eccentric individual, was cutting logs at a camp on

Kersey Run. His bunk house had bedsteads with mattresses and sheets. These sheets were changed twice a week. During the winter of 1869-70 Holmes worked for a short time at Jake Brown's camp, receiving forty dollars a month. This was the year of the first Red River Rebellion and young Holmes started northward to help the half breed gain independence from the Dominion. This adventure was the result of the tales of an uncle, who used to tell the Holmes children stories of his experiences when a soldier in the American army during the War of 1812.⁷

He arrived in St. Paul December 31, 1869, via the old Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul road that ran from Chicago to Milwaukee through Madison to Prairie du Chien, the division end, and no train on until the following morning. In the morning the train crossed to North McGregor on a temporary bridge built on piles but supported partially by the ice, and on from McGregor to St. Paul, the terminus of the road.⁸ From St. Paul he proceeded to Fort Abercrombie. A railroad extended from St. Paul to St. Cloud. This

⁷ "Uncle Billy," said Mr. Holmes, "had fought at Lundy's Lane, Black Rock, Prescott. We built an addition to our house one summer and Uncle Billy Dougherty worked on it. He wasted so much time talking that it cost twice over what it should have cost to have it built. There were perhaps a dozen veterans of the War of 1812 and we children used to sit and listen to the tales of how they helped lick the British." At this time the newspapers were filled with accounts of the injustice rendered the French half-breed so the prejudices of the boy, urged by desire for adventure in the youth, started him forth.

⁸ At St. Paul Holmes stopped at a hotel called The Wild Hunter, which stood across the street from the place where Merchants' Hotel now stands.

line was known as the St. Paul and Pacific and is now the Great Northern. From St. Cloud a stage line ran to McCauleyville.⁹ There were stations every twelve or fourteen miles where passengers might be accommodated with meals or bed. Horses were changed at these points and sometimes the drivers, too.

The morning of his arrival at Fort Abercrombie was clear but cold. Dressed as he had dressed in Pennsylvania, without cap, overcoat or overshoes, he suffered with the cold—both ears were frosted severely. His enthusiasm for the French half breed's cause suffered a relapse and he returned to Pennsylvania. He had money enough to take him to St. Mary's in Elk County. While at the hotel he met Barrows¹⁰ of the Peck Barnard Company and some such conversation occurred: "Hello, you here?" "Yes, I'm here." "Where did you come from?" and then "I suppose you are broke." As a result of this chance meeting Holmes returned with him to the camp and resumed his old position in their office.

⁹ At McCauleyville there were perhaps a dozen houses. Old David McCauley had a store there, thus naming the center.

James Nolan kept a hotel there. Across the river was Fort Abercrombie. Around this fort was an old stockade about ten feet in height. A bastion was erected at each corner. Numerous half-breed shacks were scattered in the locality of the fort.

¹⁰ Barrows, the senior member, came on a trip of camp inspection about once each month. He reached camp usually in the evening and in a state of semi-intoxication that rendered him garrulous but stupefied. He would question regarding the quantity of logs cut, how they scaled, etc. "Then," said Holmes, "I answered at random, told him anything and it was all right. He would forget it all by morning. But when he put his questions the next morning I confined myself to simple facts."

This time he remained with the company until the spring of 1871 when he again started west, arriving in St. Paul the latter part of March, 1871. He went from St. Paul via the St. Paul and Pacific Railway to its terminal, Morris, Minnesota. At Morris he became acquainted with D. C. McKinzie. McKinzie ran a flat boat¹¹ down the Red River doing freighting to Winnipeg¹² and on his next trip Holmes accompanied him as helper.¹³

Returning from the river trip upon the steamer Holmes found employment with a surveying party. T. G. Merrill had been appointed by the government to survey the country along the river to the north of Moorhead. This was the original survey when the land was being blocked off into townships, sections and quarters.

¹¹ The flat boat was, as the name indicates, a flat bottomed boat thirty by fifty feet long and sixteen feet wide, this being a convenient width, since sixteen foot planks could be used for the bottom without cutting them. The sides were raised four feet, sloping out at prow and stern. A sweep at each end steered it. The planks were spiked together, the cracks filled with oakum and then tarred.

¹² The flat boat tied up at Moorhead which settlement had started that summer. There were at the time fifteen or twenty tents—no permanent buildings. Northern Pacific was extended to Moorhead in 1871. They passed Georgetown, a Hudson Bay Post; Grand Forks, a stage station; Pembina, a town with three or four hundred inhabitants living in shacks built of logs with sod roof and one or two frame houses. A custom house at West Lynn was the port of entry. The American office was at Pembina. Here they filed a statement of exports, manifest of cargo being accepted without examination of same. At West Lynn was filed statement of kind and quantity of goods making up the cargo. At the time there existed a condition resembling free trade, most of the cargo being admitted free. At Winnipeg, then a village of seven or eight hundred people, invoices of the cargo were presented. It was here duly inspected by the custom officers and anything dutiable taxed. The cargo disposed of, the boats themselves were sold as lumber.

¹³ The cargo carried was butter, eggs, flour, pork, canned goods, potatoes, plows and general merchandise. It was freighted across from Morris by oxen and horse teams to Breckenridge. There it was loaded upon the flat boat and taken to Winnipeg. There was a fleet of nine of these freight boats.

He worked with the surveyors until fall when they came on to Grand Forks, wintering here. There was no work for them and all lived together in a shack that stood just south of the point where the Great Northern road now crosses the Red River into Minnesota.¹⁴ Five or six men slept there, getting their own meals, provisions

¹⁴ During the winter of 1872 there were many without work in Grand Forks. The saloon was the one place always open and welcomed all to share its hospitality. In its open forum were discussed the affairs of community, state and nation. Here were presented and approved or vetoed plans that had much to do with the future welfare of the state and community. One of those who frequented the saloon was a man named Todd, erstwhile circus clown and more recently the cook for a boarding house. Todd went to the wife of Captain Alexander Griggs and advanced the opinion that it was to be deplored so many young men were saloon loafers and that there should be something to take them away, such as a series of socials. These socials were to be held in various homes where the young men would feel free to come. Mrs. Griggs favored the sentiment and offered her home for the tryout. Todd, the promoter, did not appear until toward eleven and was in such a state of intoxication as to offend those present and the social uplift project died then and there.

With so many idle there was much mischief and some crime. It was in 1872 that Catfish Joe, a half crazy Frenchman, killed old man Stevens. Stevens had been drinking and came upon Joe when the Frenchman was grinding his ax. He was in a quarrelsome mood and called Joe opprobrious names, till at length the infuriated Frenchman struck him on the head with the ax, crushing his skull. Stevens died about three o'clock the next morning. The murder caused general excitement and the loafers at the saloon discussed a lynching, but first they went over to learn Stevens' condition, then across where Joe was being held for a look at the murderer, then back to the saloon for drinks and more discussion. So the evening and night passed until they were in a state of intoxication that prevented concerted action. Catfish Joe was taken for trial to Yankton and sentenced to two years in prison. Upon the expiration of his sentence he returned to Grand Forks. Armed with a Winchester six shooter and a bowie knife he swaggered about with intent to terrorize. Bert Haney, now living on the Pacific coast, attacked him and seizing the rifle wrested it from him and struck Joe on the head with the barrel. The rifle barrel was broken from the stock but Joe was uninjured by the blow. Later Catfish Joe went to Montana and with a partner engaged in trapping. His partner did the cooking and one night Joe awakened the man and told him it was time to get breakfast. The man refused to get up at such an hour and Joe shot and killed him.

being bought from the general fund that represented their summer's earning.¹⁵

The spring of 1872 Holmes made another trip to Winnipeg, working on a flat boat freighting for McKinzie.¹⁶ Upon his return from this trip he secured employment at the old saw mill.¹⁷ His experiences in the Pennsylvania camp served him here. The Grand Forks mill was sawing lumber to be used in building barges and repairing river boats. He also worked with the surveyors for a time carrying chain, reading the compass, in fact doing with unusual capability what his hands found to do.

The spring of 1873 the logs cut during the summer and fall were floated to Winnipeg.¹⁸ Holmes

¹⁵ They played many games of poker. The winner each time bought the provisions for as long as he held the stake.

¹⁶ Between Grand Forks and Pembina they ran out of provisions with the exception of a small quantity of beans. The cook for the flat boat crews was George Snider, a veteran of the War of the Rebellion. Snider had been a prisoner in Andersonville for a year and his suffering had deranged him. With the beans ready to serve he acted on some unexplained impulse and threw them into the river. The men went without food until they reached Pembina.

¹⁷ The Hudson Bay Company had purchased the old saw mill. This mill stood on the Dakota side of the river just north of the site of the Great Northern bridge.

¹⁸ The first school in Grand Forks was opened the summer of 1873. There were about five families in Grand Forks who had children of school age. Once it was decided to open a school. They quarreled as to the best location for it. Some lived on North Third street back of the present location of Benner and Begg's store. A few families lived out in the locality of what is now Lincoln Park. So each faction held school. Both school houses were claim shanties. One stood north of the present location of Ashley's Undertaking parlors. George Ames, a drayman and hired man for Captain Griggs was employed as teacher. The other school was across the street from what is now the south entrance to Lincoln Park. Miss Blanding, now Mrs. C. M. Fisher of Devils Lake, taught this school. Her pupils were the children of D. P. Reeves, Nick Hoffman, Gus Loon and O. S. Freeman.

was one of the drivers employed to take them down. In so flat a country log driving is not so difficult as in a country more rugged. There is little danger of bad jams but a man who rides logs must be quick, sure-footed, level-headed, and able to endure. An expert driver received five dollars a day. This was Holmes' wage. After they reached Winnipeg and the logs had been delivered to the buyers, they returned to Grand Forks and he again found work with the surveyors.

Leaving the surveyors Holmes worked for the Hudson Bay Company in their mill. The spring of 1874 he went out in Saskatchewan to Grand Rapids where the Hudson Bay Company were building a boat for the river trade. Grand Rapids is located at the mouth of the Saskatchewan where it empties into Lake Winnipeg. The boat they built was named "The Northcote" to honor Sir Stafford Northcote, a director of the Hudson Bay Company.¹⁹

They ran out of provisions and lived on sturgeon and black tea (without sugar or milk) for four or five weeks. Then a boat carrying freight to the interior in the locality of Peace River unloaded for a portage. Holmes abstracted a sack

¹⁹ D. P. Reeves was in charge of the work. One day when Holmes had been working hard and steadily, Reeves called out to him: "Take an ax and go out and cut a pole." "What kind of a pole do you want, long, slim, or what?" "It don't make a ——— bit of difference," was the surprising answer, "just get a pole." After that, when he wished to rest, he sauntered out and "cut a pole."

of sugar from the load and Colter secured half a barrel of crackers. The freighter came up to the camp trying to persuade them to return it as the people in the interior needed it but their own need was their first consideration and they refused to give it up. The boat completed, they returned to Grand Forks and Holmes went into the Company store.²⁰

²⁰ It was customary for townsmen, not too scrupulous, to go in pairs to trade. There was but one clerk in charge. Upon entering one would ask for some bulky article that would be stored upstairs such as oxbows. The clerk would go upstairs for them. Thereupon the second man would gather an armful of things he wanted and leave the store. The first man, after waiting paid perhaps twenty cents for his purchase while the man who had gone had stolen many times that value.

The mill employed Nelson Aaker as night watchman. Aaker was a big muscular man without fear. One night during this winter, 1874 or 1875, while Holmes was clerking, they heard a noise in the warehouse. The two men investigated and found Jarvis Rogers, the local bad man, in the Company warehouse. He had selected and piled goods to take with him and on being discovered, barricaded himself behind the stock and with a Winchester stood his ground. Aaker, barehanded, climbed over and hauled him out and delivered him to an officer. He was later taken to Fargo for trial and received a thirty day sentence.

Henry Morgan was managing the Company store at Grand Forks with full authority to give credit. The Company sent him to St. Paul to buy stock but on first arriving he was taken out by a salesman and while under the influence of liquor he was passed from one salesman to another, each selling him ridiculous quantities of unsalable articles such as a carload of spice, one carload of millinery, one thousand dollars worth of candy. Asked how much jewelry he could use, he answered, "Quite a lot, about a bushel." Holmes remembers one article in jewelry, a brooch that cost forty dollars. When Holmes first went into the Hudson Bay Company store he set to work checking this stock, the bills for which were coming in. He worked steadily until the first of January. Then two men worked until July first taking inventory. When bills for goods ordered began to come in and the Company learned of his indiscreet buying Morgan was asked to resign.

The Company were unable to house all their great stock and barrels of pork, two hundred or more, would stand outside in the yard. At that time the Hudson Bay Company had its own herd of cattle that grazed on the open prairie. A part of this pasture is now owned by the University of North Dakota.

One man who kept a market in the village was never without meat to sell, yet was never known to buy a single head of beef. There was a suspicion that the Hudson Bay Company herd was supplying his meat but he even offered the hides for sale at the Company store.

The summer of 1874 Holmes worked with Hector Bruce who had been employed by Captain Griggs to survey and mark off property owned by him into town lots. This survey when complete was the original townsite of Grand Forks.

In the spring of 1875 Holmes was made manager of the telegraph office, as the regular operator had resigned. He was also express agent and was appointed deputy postmaster. Questioned as to his knowledge of telegraphy he said when a boy at home he had rigged up a telegraph instrument from the parts of an old clock. The stub of a pencil fastened to the sounder registered the code upon strips of paper (the white margin of newspapers). He soon learned to read by sound and did not need the pencil. This experience enabled him now to assume the duties in the office here, the requirements not being so severe as later. Pressed for the explanation of his appointment, how any one should know of his ability in this line, he characteristically remarked, "Why, I blew my own horn." This telegraph line was the first one built and later it was extended to Winnipeg.

Each office paid a salary of about fifty dollars a month, but the post office was least remunerative. The salary allowed was seventy per cent of sales of stamps but since he trusted so many for stamps the indebtedness just about balanced the commission. Holmes built for himself an

office which stood about where Fourth street crosses the Great Northern tracks. During the winter of 1874 a Methodist minister named Curl came to town. It was at the saloon that the collection was started to build a church. In the discussion as to ways and means some one suggested building a school house instead of a church since the school would serve for both school and church. This suggestion found favor and the following night there was held a dance, the proceeds from which were to be used for the school building.

The Hudson Bay Company donated lumber; two carpenters, John Kinnear and Neal Olson, gave their services; and about twenty-five or thirty of those present contributed money for necessary equipment.

This building stood on the present site of the county jail. Part of it is now in use as a portion of the Arlington Park Hotel. Rev. Curl was hired to teach as well as to preach here.

In the general county election held November, 1875, Holmes was made register of deeds, county surveyor and he was also clerk of the school board. He continued in the various duties of these offices until the spring of 1876.

In 1876 rumors were afloat of the rich gold diggings in the Black Hills; fabulous finds were reported. The group gatherings in the saloons and elsewhere discussed little else. Finally a number

of townsmen decided to seek their fortune in the Black Hills. In the diary kept by Holmes and given in full in the following pages is an account of this expedition.

The book was of brown leather, pocket size. On its pages are the entries made from day to day while he was on the Black Hills trip. Holmes, at that time twenty-four years old, was one of a party of fourteen who set out from Grand Forks. Their names were entered on its inner pages as follows:

William Budge	George Fadden
Tom Hall	William Myrick
A. L. McKinley ²¹	Pete Girard
James Williams ²²	D. M. Holmes ²⁴
James Mulligan	Alfred Wright
"Farmer Brown" ²³	R. C. Whitney
J. S. Eshelman	James Jenks

Returning to Grand Forks, July, 1876, Holmes acted as relief for the regular telegraph operator. This was the year of the Custer massacre and Grand Forks people, horrified by the report of this affair, became nervous and inclined to suspect even the most peacefully inclined Indian. Then came a report over the wire to the effect that the Indians of Turtle Mountains were planning an attack upon the settlers of the Red

²¹ A member of same McKinley family as was President McKinley.

²² James Williams was the only married man. He sold his farm to outfit himself and left his wife behind.

²³ Oscar Rose, a professional gambler, his assumed name was "Farmer Brown."

²⁴ Holmes sold the office building he had built for \$500 and used this to outfit himself for the trip.

River Valley. It was doubtless a mere rumor without foundation, just the product of a too active imagination. The news was received by Holmes in the afternoon and passed along until it soon was town property. A mass meeting at the schoolhouse was called for that evening. A crowd gathered promptly to decide what action should be taken. In the general discussion, W. J. S. Traill, manager of the Hudson Bay Company's store, said he did not believe there was any danger, whereupon D. P. Reeves made answer, saying: "It is all right for you to say there is no danger. As agent of the Hudson Bay Company, all you need to do is stick a British flag on the tail of a Red River cart and drive out of the country. You're safe enough, but what about us?"

After some further discussion it was decided to appoint two experienced men to go out and, if possible, locate the Indians, learn the number on the warpath and report. D. M. Holmes and Frank Hatch were named for scout duty. They were both glad of the appointment since both were out of money, and after the adventures of the previous year were only too glad if supplied with good horses, to face adventure in any form.²⁵

²⁵ At this point Wm. Postal voiced his profane disapproval of the plan and demanded that a fort be built. He was able to carry popular approval for his new plan but no sooner was it adopted than he turned against it, and with an oath called for the organization of a military company. Hector Bruce, who had been a captain in the confederate army, was appointed captain of the company. George Walsh, editor of the Plain-

Holmes remained in Grand Forks during July, 1877, and then, since there was no job in sight, he went to Pembina.²⁶

In Pembina Holmes was employed by Nathan Myrick, who owned a general store and saloon. W. J. Kneeshaw managed the store, D. M. Holmes took charge of the saloon. Pembina at this time had a population of from two hundred fifty to three hundred.

When Holmes had been in Pembina about a month he received a telegram asking him to come back to Grand Forks to take charge of the telegraph office. The stage was just ready to leave when he received the message. Running out he jumped aboard without locking the saloon door or collecting the money due him.

In the fall he ran for the office of register of deeds and superintendent of county schools. He was elected, defeating W. G. Woodruff who had been appointed to succeed him when he left for the Black Hills. Soon after the election he began practicing law with W. G. Woodruff as partner. Many of their cases required good, com-

dealer, was named first lieutenant, and James Anderson, second lieutenant. The climax of the meeting came when this chronic objector defeated his last proposition by the same method he had already twice used and nothing further was done to prepare for a possible Indian attack.

²⁶ At this time when he was undeniably in financial straits, Tom Purdy, a Frenchman known as "Catfish Tom," hailed him one day: "Holmes, I guess you pretty dam hard up. Come over to my house. We haven't much, some bread, catch a catfish once in a while. You come over and stay with us." Purdy with his half-breed wife occupied a shack by the river. It is needless to say, in spite of the kindness of this invitation, he did not accept.

mon sense rather than great knowledge of legal technicalities. One case he cites as an example. A man and his wife desiring a divorce came to the office. The man, an Englishman, with an Englishman's desire to conform to the law, employed Woodruff as his attorney. The woman came to Holmes for advice in the matter. Incompatibility might have been the cause for the desired separation although it is likely jealousy entered in. After receiving the usual retaining fees the partners persuaded the two to give up the idea of divorce and try again. The man died a few years later and so made permanent the adjustment of their troubles.

Another case was that of Peter Knudson, a Norwegian, who came to Holmes asking advice in a case which he stated as follows: "If I had a neighbor who tied up my ox that had strayed and after cutting off its horns turned it loose to come home, what could be done about it?" Holmes said he thought there was no question but damages could be collected. After pondering a few minutes Knudson arose, saying: "I guess I'll go home and settle." "Settle," said Holmes, "but I tell you that you can get damages." "But," Knudson explained, "I am the man who cut the horns off the ox."²⁷

²⁷ This is so similar to a story in Balzac's *Country Parson* that Holmes was loath to narrate it, fearing he might be accused of plagiarizing. At this time Holmes knew nothing of Balzac or his works and translations into English were not made till 1898.

Soon after Holmes' return to Grand Forks from Pembina the telegraph and express office were moved into the office of the Hudson Bay Company.²⁸ Holmes found time to keep books for Frank Viets until the summer of 1878, when he branched out into a new undertaking.

Sometime in June, 1878, Dr. George A. Haxton came to town. On his way here he had ordered one hundred dollars' worth of drugs from Noyes Bros. and Cutler, St. Paul. The drugs were sent C. O. D. but the doctor was not able to pay the charges. He entered into an agreement with Holmes to the effect that he (Holmes) should pay the express charges and then sell from the stock until the one hundred dollars had been collected. After the charges were paid the remainder of the stock should be turned over to Dr. Haxton. Holmes unpacked the stock and placed it on shelves he had had put up in the corner of the express office. The cost of shelving for the stock on hand and the constant ordering of new stock to supplement the rather limited supply of drugs in the first order soon increased the indebtedness from one to seven or eight hundred dollars. Dr. Haxton was never able to pay back the cash advanced and in this way Holmes embarked in the drug business.²⁹

²⁸ Frank Viets bought out the Hudson Bay Company in the fall of 1877. Upon discontinuing the store here the Hudson Bay Company moved to Winnipeg.

²⁹ Dr. Haxton practiced medicine here until his untimely death from smallpox, contracted from some patients he was attending who lived south

The stock of drugs often lacked many things for which there was a steady demand. There was a considerable need for horse medicine and, smiling at the memory, Holmes said, regarding this branch of the business: "We kept in the back room three good sized boxes, one of corn meal, one of oatmeal and one of bran. If there was anything in the prescription we did not have we found a substitute for it in one of these boxes, and I'll say this, we never put up better horse medicine." He sent for books and with characteristic energy set about gaining a knowledge of drugs that would warrant his continuing in the business.

During this same summer he sold a half interest in the drug store to George Budge. Acting in capacity of County Superintendent of Schools, he hired Kate McGrann as teacher for the Grand

of town. The doctor and his wife lived in a building which has since been replaced by the building occupied by the First National Bank. They were quarantined and fearing they might suffer from neglect on the part of those who were looking after them, Holmes made it his business to call secretly each evening. A doctor finally came from St. Paul and took care of the doctor and his practice, but he returned to St. Paul upon the death of Dr. Haxton.

The people, in a panic lest the disease should spread, for this had been a malignant case, hired two men, Billy Blair and "Long" Stewart, to prepare the body and attend to its burial. Blair was a little man but Stewart tall as his nickname implied and proportionally large. A new suit of clothing was provided for each man and they were directed to change when their task was finished and burn their old clothing. On their way to the Haxton home they stopped at each saloon they passed for a glass to fortify them for the task in hand, and soon they were royally drunk. They managed with difficulty to discharge the task allotted to them and returned to town, appearing at the hotel dressed each in the other's suit with the ridiculous misfit to be expected.

Mrs. Haxton sometime afterward married W. G. Woodruff.

Forks school. She taught one month and Rebecca Schlaberg came from Iowa to finish the term.

That winter Holmes sold out to George Budge as a disagreement in business matters made it advisable to discontinue the partnership. During the holiday he went to Pembina and remained two weeks. Neither the telegraph nor the express office did a very heavy business so he shut off the key to his telegraph instrument, locked the door and departed. If there were any complaint that it had been impossible to get Grand Forks he could truthfully say that his instrument had not been working.

In the summer of 1878 he moved from the office of the Hudson Bay Company across the street to a building where Benner and Begg's store now stands. This was a fairly good building, and with more stock on these shelves he kept the best drug store in North Dakota.

About this time Holmes, following the path of his father and older brothers, became interested in Masonry. In July, 1878, he went to Pembina and was taken into the Blue Lodge. He went to Pembina again in December to receive the last degree in the Blue Lodge.³⁰

In 1862 Hatch's Battalion was stationed in Pembina. Desiring to organize a lodge, C. W. Nash of the battalion applied for and obtained a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Minnesota

³⁰ There was no lodge in Grand Forks at this time.

located at St. Paul.³¹ When the battalion was ordered to Ft. Abercrombie the lodge was removed to Winnipeg as many had come down from Winnipeg to join during the time the battalion remained at Pembina. Since the Pembina lodge worked under a dispensation it could not give a demit. This prevented Holmes from joining the Grand Forks lodge until 1880, when he received his demit.

Upon his return he opened another drug store in a little building which stood where Ruettell's clothing store now stands.

On March 6, 1879, Holmes was united in marriage to Rebecca Schlaberg. The marriage ceremony was performed by Rev. F. W. Iddings of the Presbyterian Church at the home of Thomas Walsh, and Mr. and Mrs. Walsh were the only witnesses.³²

In the spring of 1880 Holmes purchased a two-story, brick-veneered building from Henry Gotzian for \$5,000. This was the first building of

³¹ Chas. W. Nash, brother of W. C. Nash, was master of the first Masonic lodge in Dakota Territory. He enlisted in Hatch's Battalion in St. Paul and was captain of a company. He came to Grand Forks from St. Paul and practiced law in this city, 1882-83.

³² Rebecca Schlaberg was born in Rockford, Illinois, January 18, 1855. Her father, Charles Frederick Schlaberg, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, and emigrated from Scotland to Montreal, Canada. During his residence in Canada he married Ann Turner, who was of English parentage. In 1850 the family moved to Rockford, Illinois. Here he was engaged in freighting but in a short time he moved to Fayette, Iowa. The goods he freighted came from Dubuque and went to various towns in the vicinity of Fayette. Later they moved from Fayette to a farm near Waverly, Iowa. Here Rebecca Schlaberg finished the work in the country school and then spent some time in the village school. She came to Grand Forks in 1878 to teach in the city school upon the resignation of Kate McGrann.

the kind erected in Grand Forks. Poppler Piano Company now occupy a store on the ground where this building stood.

The Great Northern Railway having reached Grand Forks, the telegraph office was moved to its depot as was also the American Express office. The next summer (1881) the telegraph office was moved back to Holmes' drug store.

The Grand Forks Herald was at this time started as a daily which made the third daily issued in the town. The Herald was a morning paper, the Plain dealer and the News were evening papers. The regular operator was not able to receive the press reports and as this made so much trouble Holmes was asked to take charge of the telegraph again. When the Northern Pacific came into Grand Forks they asked Holmes to act as express agent for them, the express office being located at his drug store. Complaint was made by the American Express Company that Holmes was using the telegraph office to increase the business of the new express office whereupon Holmes tendered his resignation to the Northern Pacific agent. The latter offered to increase his salary over what the telegraph office was paying so Holmes wired his resignation to the telegraph company and that office was returned to the depot. He continued as express agent until elected county treasurer.

In 1882 Holmes was made a member of the city council and served two terms. In 1886, he was elected city mayor and was re-elected for a second term.

During his term of office local option was up for the consideration of the people and was adopted. During his first term saloons were licensed and in spite of a closing ordinance ran wide open. The ordinance provided for their being closed at twelve on Saturday nights and remaining closed until Monday at six in the morning. This became an issue which Holmes used every effort to force to a decision in favor of their being closed. However, they were able to defy him and the policemen he hired winked at the breaking of this law. Even after the town was made dry by local option there were many still evading the law.

The County Fair had always had support from the saloon element and with the town dry those who were backing the Fair found themselves running behind. Holmes had closed a gambling house operated by Alex McBane. McBane called upon members of the Fair board of directors and promised to make a substantial contribution to the Fair if they would prevail upon the mayor to permit him to open up his house. Mayor Holmes was invited to appear at one of their meetings when they urged that McBane be allowed to open again. This was asked on the grounds

that it would improve business conditions. Holmes then proposed that the directors of the Fair send him a letter, signed by them all, asking him to permit McBane to reopen his gambling house. On the receipt of this letter he promised to withdraw his opposition but the letter was never written.

During his period of office, beside the saloon question he had also to deal with places still more undesirable to be found in various parts of the city. These people spent money freely and this gave them immunity for a time. Mayor Holmes closed every house and their inmates took refuge across the river and were the beginning of a group which later became notorious.

In the election of 1886 (Mr. Holmes' first term) L. B. Richardson ran against him. The night before election J. J. Hill, an old acquaintance of Holmes, issued an order that all trains on the branches west, north and south, run into Grand Forks that the crews might vote. On the night before election Richardson withdrew, leaving Holmes without opposition.

June 16, 1887, the worst cyclone that has ever visited this section struck Grand Forks. Holmes had arranged a business trip to St. Paul, and about four o'clock in the afternoon went home to get his traveling bag and bid the family good-bye. Threatening clouds were rapidly advancing and the storm signs were so ominous that he de-

cided to postpone the trip. At the time Holmes was living in a house he had built at 210 North Seventh street.³³ This building, occupying the site where Lamb's paint shop now stands, was blown down. Two families were living in the house. Mrs. Pollock and Gertrude Starboard, coming down from the second floor, were caught between the partitions that enclosed the stairway and killed.³⁴ Holmes' house had its windows broken and the rain poured in on new carpets and curtains. From the debris of the storm he collected boards to nail across the openings, not remembering until after it was done that there were storm windows in the attic that could be buttoned on. Isabella Nelson lost her trousseau in the storm. She was to be married on Wednesday, the twenty-second, to Andrew Veitch. The dress in which she was married was not finished until the evening of the ceremony. No part of the lost trousseau was ever found. Mrs. Bissell was blown out of her home and through the window opening of another house and left on its floor not seriously hurt. When the bodies of the two women were taken from the wrecked house, Holmes was with the relief party and looking about, saw a wooden pail partly filled with eggs

³³ The construction of this house cost in 1883 about \$3,600. Later he moved to the residence he now occupies at 192 Reeves Avenue, selling the old home for the estimated cost.

³⁴ Mrs. Pollock was the mother-in-law of Jones, a conductor for the Great Northern.

which were not even cracked although the eggs had been in an upstairs room. A train running between Manvel and Grand Forks was blown from the tracks. Windows of stores and dwellings were blown in. Scantlings were driven into walls of buildings which remained standing and they were found there afterward, clear evidence of the fury of the storm.

About this time Holmes was made a member of the city board of education. W. H. Wilder was president of this board and W. H. Burr its secretary, with C. H. Clemmer as high school principal. It was this board which made music a part of the required course. This was opposed by Holmes who believed manual training of more value to a greater number.

He sold his store to C. P. Trepanier in 1889, reserving as was his custom, the privilege of starting up again if he so desired. He opened again in a building leased for two years from Captain Griggs. This building was in the same location as his first store, the first building having burned. Trepanier built a store for himself and Holmes went back into the building Trepanier vacated. In 1885 he had taken his brother-in-law, Frank Schlaberg, into partnership, and ten years later he sold to Schlaberg and so ended his career as a druggist.

During the typhoid epidemic which prevailed

in 1893³⁵ Holmes worked night and day, as first Schlager and then the clerk, Frank Griffith, were victims. He employed nurses for both men while two nurses in his own home were caring for his wife and two little girls, all fever victims. The business that had kept three busy now depended on one and there were prescriptions to be filled at all hours, night or day. When it was possible to steal a moment he would leave the store with its doors open, to visit his own sick. In such times all are served alike and those who answer the last call have no responsibility for unpaid bills. Holmes lost heavily during this time al-

³⁵ The date of the typhoid epidemic not being clear in Mr. Holmes' mind, at his suggestion Dr. J. D. Taylor, who was a practicing physician in the city at the time, supplied the general information contained in this note.

Typhoid was prevalent at all times but the cases were scattered. However, at Crookston, Minnesota, there had been an unusual number of cases. It happened at this time the river bank at the mouth of the main sewer in Crookston slid down, forming a dam that held back the sewerage until this slide was removed. Then the accumulation for some days emptied in and was swept down the river. Grand Forks city water was from the river and the latter part of November, 1893, the city realized it was in the grip of a typhoid fever epidemic. At the time the treating of water so polluted by chemicals was not known so they were helpless to combat it. On Thanksgiving night the Pioneer Club gave a ball in a room on the top floor of the First National Bank Building, then known as the St. John's Block. The best people of the town were members of the club and the flower of its youth were represented. During the dance they drank the polluted water, and in a short time the majority of those who were present were victims of the disease.

The upper floor of the Herald Building was made an emergency hospital. Later the top floor of the opera house was used. Dr. Logan, health officer, was a fever victim, dying in the spring of '94. Russell was city engineer. Grand Forks had a population of about 5,000. There were 1,200 cases of typhoid reported and 122 deaths. The total number of deaths were not, however, included in the 122 mentioned since people visiting the city drank of the water and were stricken in their own homes. As an example, court was in session at the time and of the twelve jurors on a short case, five died of typhoid.

though he did a heavy business during the entire siege. The building he so long occupied was sold in this year to S. S. Titus and Wm. Budge.

In 1892 the World's Fair was prominent in the minds of United States citizens and Holmes applied to the directors for a position. He received an appointment on the board of concessions. James Jenks also received an appointment and they left in January, 1892, for Chicago. Their plan was to rent a house in the vicinity of the Fair grounds, the families of the two men coming later in order to see the great Fair at their leisure. Shortly after the departure of the two, Mrs. Jenks became seriously ill and by some mischance it was impossible to get in touch with Jenks before her death. This put an end to the plan for seeing the Fair and shortly afterward Holmes returned home.

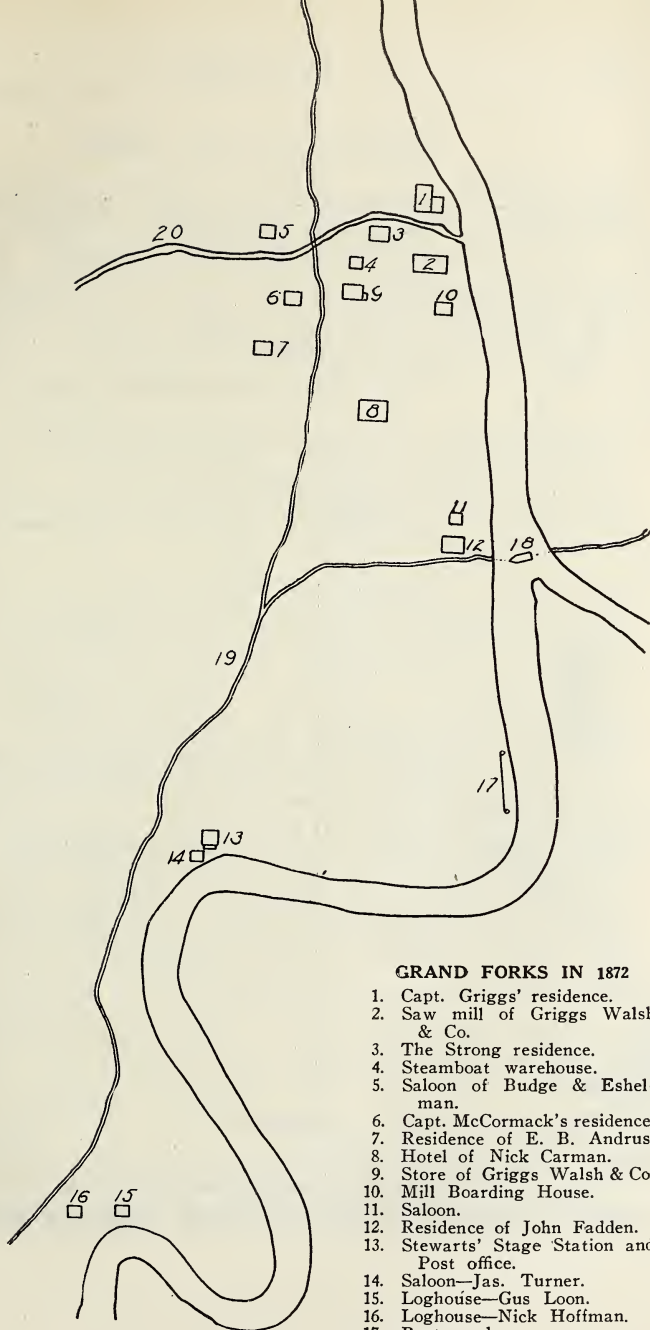
Holmes was a delegate to the National Conclave of Knight Templars meeting in Washington, D. C. Accompanied by Mrs. Holmes he visited the city. They were honored by the president, Benjamin Harrison, who entertained forty of those of highest rank, with their ladies, at a noonday luncheon at the White House.

In the election of 1894 Holmes had been elected county treasurer, which office he held four years. The fall of 1898 he ran for governor on the Democratic ticket. Although he ran ahead of his ticket he was defeated. The last year of Dr.

Taylor's term as city mayor Holmes served as city engineer. In 1899 he went into the insurance business and in this business has continued up to the present time.³⁶

³⁶ In March, 1883, Holmes received the Royal Arch degree in Masonry. He was made High Priest in 1893, Eminent Commander during 1888-89, Grand Commander, 1891, Grand High Priest, 1893, Master of Lodge, 1896-97. He became a member of the Royal Order of Scotland in 1914. In 1898 he was made Grand Patron of Eastern Star. He was made Venerable Master of the Lodge of Perfection in 1888 and still continues in that position (1923), being the oldest in actual service in the United States. He has been a member of the Masonic Building Corporation since 1912, the president of the board since 1913.

Holmes, who is a Mason heart and soul, became interested in the organization of a chapter for boys, the sons of Masons, over sixteen and under twenty-one. Thru him the boys were organized in the De Molay. He is Deputy of the Grand Chapter in the State of North Dakota.



GRAND FORKS IN 1872

1. Capt. Griggs' residence.
2. Saw mill of Griggs Walsh & Co.
3. The Strong residence.
4. Steamboat warehouse.
5. Saloon of Budge & Eshelman.
6. Capt. McCormack's residence.
7. Residence of E. B. Andrus.
8. Hotel of Nick Carman.
9. Store of Griggs Walsh & Co.
10. Mill Boarding House.
11. Saloon.
12. Residence of John Fadden.
13. Stewarts' Stage Station and Post office.
14. Saloon—Jas. Turner.
15. Lighthouse—Gus Loon.
16. Lighthouse—Nick Hoffman.
17. Boat yard.
18. Ferry.
19. Stage Trail.
20. Coulie—north of present Herald Block and crossing the Great Northern right-of-way.



---- Route of DM Holmes Party

MAP OF DAKOTA TERRITORY SHOWING ROUTE OF THE HOLMES PARTY

DIARY OF D. M. HOLMES

We left Grand Forks at eleven o'clock, February 16, 1876,¹ and stopped at Kelly's,² also stopped at Eric Anderson's.³ Arrived at 9 P. M. Frog Point.⁴

We left Frog Point at 7 in the morning. Dinner at Caledonia.⁵ Reached Elm River at 8 o'clock the 18.⁶ Left Elm River at 6 in the morning. Dinner at Georgetown.⁷ Reached Moorhead 4:30 P. M.⁸

¹ The date often seems contradictory in the diary which is explainable in this way: it was Holmes' custom to jot down these incidents when he had opportunity. Sometimes in the morning before starting, if he had a moment, he made entry; again at dinner he might add to the account, and again late at night or even early in the morning, possibly having stood guard, he wrote of the events, re-dating only when the new day seemed to start its activities.

² Byron St. Clair Kelly, a stage driver, had taken a claim about one and one-half miles south of Lincoln Park, where a point of land extends down to the river. The men going on this trip knew every one for miles around and were stopping to bid goodbye to the old friends.

Kelly had kept a stage station at a place known as Kelly's point. This is now the present site of Acton.

³ Eric Anderson, a Norwegian, had come out with the Hudson Bay Company. He worked for them in the Northwest Territory for several years and was then transferred by them to a post in North Dakota. He learned English from people who were Scotch Highlanders. His natural brogue added to the one acquired from them made a rare combination.

In 1877-78 he was one of the county commissioners for Grand Forks County. Frank Veitch was another member. D. M. Holmes was county auditor. When it was necessary to hold a meeting of the commissioners they watched for Anderson and hurried him to the session, otherwise he would go at once to the saloon and would soon be unable to transact business.

⁴ Frog Point, located about twenty-two miles south of Grand Forks. One of the many places named by French half-breeds and translated into English. This became the common name.

The stage station and store at Frog Point was kept by Bob Ray. The party had stopped to say goodbye.

⁵ Caledonia was a stage station or hotel, for all the stage stations were points where meals were served and a night's lodging could be obtained. Asa Sargent and Howard Morgan kept this station. Sargent County was named for the former.

⁶ Elm River station kept by Mat Hammis. They stopped to visit and to say goodbye.

⁷ Georgetown, a hotel and stage station, Adam Stein, proprietor.

⁸ Eshelman, Budge, McKinley and Holmes outfitted themselves each in the same way. An Indian pony attached to a Red River cart drew the load for each man. Each man carried a Winchester and five hundred

Feb. 19. Stayed in Moorhead all day. Feb. 20. We left Moorhead at 8 o'clock in the morning. Had dinner at Cheyenne River. This is our first dinner on the prairie. Drove on to Maple River and stayed all night, roads very bad.⁹ Feb. 21. Left Maple River at 7 in the morning, stopped for dinner at Goose Creek,¹⁰ and for supper at Third Siding.¹¹

Feb. 22. Left Third Siding at 8 A. M. One of Muligan's horses was played out and we had to shoot him.¹² We found the roads were so bad that we could not take our loads any further without wearing out our horses so we considered it best to leave Stripes and me here to take care of it¹³ (the freight) and wait for train.¹⁴ The

cartridges; flour, bacon, coffee, tea, according to his judgment; a knife, fork and frying pan. The men wore red mackinaw shirts with capots, red leggings made of Hudson Bay duffle cloth (similar to chaps), moccasins with two or three pairs of socks and heavy mittens comprised their outer garments.

A Red River cart was built entirely of wood, no iron entering into its construction. Repairs were made with strips of raw hide to bind the broken parts together. These carts were strongly built and would carry up to perhaps one thousand pounds or as much as the horse could pull.

Two beef hides were carried to make any repairs necessary. A strip would be cut from the raw hide and soaked in hot water to soften it. It was then drawn firmly around the broken part and left to shrink and harden.

⁹ At Maple River there was a Northern Pacific section but there were no men working there. The foreman, Mike Smith, lived here and kept travelers who wished meals or lodging.

¹⁰ Goose Creek, a section house.

¹¹ The sidings served as stopping points or stations for the railroad since there were no definitely located stations at the time. The party were following the Northern Pacific track.

¹² The horse was in bad shape, very lame and unable to travel. Since the snow was not yet off there was no feed and if abandoned it would have died of exposure and starvation.

¹³ Stripes was a nickname for Eshelman as he had a failing for trousers of striped patterns.

¹⁴ This was the train equipped to clear the snow from the track. It was made up entirely of engines, one back of the plow and one or more pushing at the rear. The only cars were those needed to carry repairs and supplies, and to furnish the men with sleeping quarters and a place to eat. This with a caboose for a regular train crew made up the supply train. L. P. Vincent was conductor of one entire train and Charley Jabis was conductor of supply train. The train opening the road, upon arriving at

stage from Bismarck arrived here at 4:30 P. M.,¹⁵ changed horses and went on.

Feb. 24. Boys started on this morning. Left Stripes and me here. Stage from Fargo arrived at 8 A. M.,¹⁶ no passengers. We went over the river to the water tank.¹⁷ Came back at 10:30 A. M. Williams and McMillan¹⁸ arrived at 11 A. M. They have left their loads at Goose Creek for the train. There are two drunken half breeds in the house. Their conversation is not very interesting. I am waiting for them to leave before I go in.

Feb. 25. The wind is blowing hard this morning. Stripes and I went out and shot mark a while this morning. Stage from Bismarck came at 3:30 today.¹⁹ They tell us that the boys got to Jamestown last night; also, that the snow plow is broken down eight miles from Jamestown.²⁰ I wish it would get through, I am tired staying here.

Feb. 26. Got up this morning about seven. Went over the river to the tank. Came back and had our

a place where the snow was drifted, would back about a half mile, take a running start and, hitting the drift with full force, drive ahead until it stuck, whereupon the snow crew would shovel it out and they would back for another run into the snow.

¹⁵ Stage had contract to carry mail from Fargo to Bismarck and return. In winter this was a covered sled. Passengers were taken on these trips if any applied. Four horses drew the stage.

¹⁶ The stage had stopped for night at station east and was on its way to next stop.

¹⁷ Present site of Valley City. There was nothing here at this time except a store, a section house and a water tank. A German kept the store, the chief stock was groceries, and liquor was also sold there.

¹⁸ Williams had lingered in Moorhead and was just getting in. McMillan was a recruit for the expedition who had joined Williams in Moorhead.

¹⁹ The coming of the stage was an incident looked forward to as a break in the monotony of the tedious day and so found mention in the diary.

²⁰ The Northern Pacific Road had been blocked by snow all winter. Effort was then being made to open it up.

dinner.²¹ Two men came in from Moorhead. Heard there was a train coming. It arrived at 5:30.²²

Got our freight aboard by agreeing to shovel snow. Reached Jamestown at 8 P. M. Found Wright and Mulligan on the train.²³ Stayed all night at the section house.

Feb. 27. Had our breakfast this morning at 5:30. Went down to the depot and transferred our freight to N. P. car, number 2050. We are now on our way out to work.²⁴ We struck the first drift about 8 A. M. and had my first experience in snow bucking. Found it to be not very pleasant work. Came in to dinner and found the worst crew I have ever been amongst in my life.²⁵ Put me in mind more of a second class hog pen than a place for white men to eat.²⁶ Slept last night in one of the cars with about 60 or 70 men of all colors, nationalities and descriptions. Stripes and I slept together in a berth about two feet wide. Did not sleep much. We have made arrangements with the boarding boss for better accommodations.

Got up this morning at 5:30. Had our breakfast and went to work. Arrived at Dunn's Eleventh Siding and

²¹ Mike Flood kept the section house. Flood came home from the store drunk and quarrelsome. Philip McLoughlin worked for Flood and the latter vented his ire in verbal abuse. His mood, however, was an ugly one and Eshelman and Holmes, upon going to bed, placed their six shooters in easy reach in case they need defend themselves against him. The dinner was salt pork, beans, bread, molasses and coffee, the usual fare at a house of this sort. Rates were two dollars a day, meals fifty cents and bed fifty cents.

²² P. J. McLaughlin, at present a justice of the peace in Grand Forks, hauled their freight over to the tracks for loading.

²³ Wright and Mulligan also had stopped for a time in Moorhead.

²⁴ They would shovel a road when snow plow could not buck its way through.

²⁵ The men blackened their eye sockets with soot from the frying pans. This made a shadow and lessened the glare of the sunlight upon the snow, a precaution against snow blindness.

²⁶ The regular crew for shoveling sat down to eat with the blackened faces, frozen beards which melted while they ate; to the men who were used to better things this presented a most repellent spectacle.

stayed there all night. Stripes and I slept at the section house.

Feb. 29. Al Wright left us this morning. He is going to wait for Jenks with the mule team. Jenks passed us this afternoon with his team. Al Wright is with him. We will sleep tonight in the caboose.²⁷ Think we will get into Bismarck about Friday night. Hope so.

March 1. Got up this morning at 5 A. M. Had our breakfast and went out to work. Prospects good for Bismarck Friday evening.

March 2. Did not go out to shovel snow this forenoon. Do not think we will go out today.²⁸ Did not go out this afternoon. We are getting along fine. We have just passed Fifteenth Siding.²⁹ I think we will make Sixteenth Siding today. This is a nice day. Hope we have better weather now. We have had but two nice days since we left Grand Forks.

March 3. Went to work this morning. Have a better job now. Stripes and I are shoveling snow into one of the engines. We work about two hours a day.³⁰

March 4. I think we will reach Bismarck this evening as the snow is not heavy. Arrived at Bismarck at 8:30 P. M. We found the boys camped in a house.³¹ Went to two dances this evening. Went up and slept with the boys.

Sunday, March 5. Got up this morning and went down to the cars and unloaded our freight. One of our guns was stolen last night.

²⁷ The row mentioned was regarding the accommodations for bed and board. They refused to eat at the regular table for the shovelling crew. The shovelling crew slept in a box car with bunks built along the sides. They were now allowed to sleep in the caboose with the regular train crew.

²⁸ More trouble was experienced with boss and they refused to shovel any more snow.

²⁹ The Fifteenth Siding is now Sanborn.

³⁰ The engines melted snow for their tanks.

³¹ Those of the original party who had gone on with teams.

March 6, 1876. Heard this morning that the train that started back is stuck at Thirteenth Siding. There will be no train in from Moorhead tonight. Telegraphed Whitney.³² He will be in on first train.

March 7. Nothing doing today. Train has not started from Fargo yet.

March 8. Heard this morning the train had started from Moorhead. Think it will be here this evening.

March 9. Train did not get in last night. It left Crystal Springs this morning.³³ It should be here some time this afternoon. Snowed all last night and most of the time today. Train did not get in.

March 10. Snowing this morning. Part of the Black Hills party started yesterday. Think they will wait for us at the Little Heart.

March 11. Train has not arrived yet. Storm is about over. Think it will be in tomorrow. Received message from Belch.³⁴

Jenks went out after Whitney and the rest of the boys. He started about 10 A. M. Very cold this morning. Jenks did not get back last evening. Think that he had to haul coal for locomotives.³⁵ Some of the passengers came in from train.³⁶

March 13. Jenks came in this afternoon with Brown, Whitney and Burke.³⁷

Tuesday, March 14. Cold this morning, looks like storm again. Train will not be in today.

³² Romeo Whitney, a carpenter in Grand Forks, was Holmes' partner. Budge and Eshelman were likewise paired. Whitney could not get ready to leave when the others did and was now joining them.

³³ Crystal Springs, a siding.

³⁴ Belch was Holmes' successor at Grand Forks Station. The telegram mentioned was probably some inquiry regarding business pending in office.

³⁵ The train was making such slow progress because of the snow, that a team could get through faster.

³⁶ They walked in, eager to be on their way to the Hills.

³⁷ Billy Burke had made the acquaintance of Brown and Whitney on the train and now was joining the Grand Forks party.

March 15. Some of the boys have gone hunting. All anxious to get out of here. Train not working today.

March 16. Storming today.

March 16. Stormed very hard all day. The boys have been hunting again. Budge shot a deer.³⁸ They came in about 7 P. M. Friday, March 17. The boys have gone after the deer shot yesterday. Storm is about over. Think we will have some pleasant weather now. Train has not arrived yet. Don't know when it will. March 18. Looks like storm again. Snowed all afternoon and most all night. Just two weeks since we came here. We did not expect to be here so long when we came. Train is not here yet. March 19. Cleared off this morning. Wind is from the north. Coldest day we have had since we have been here. We can see the smoke. It will surely be in today. (The train.) March 20. Got up about 8 A. M., train arrived at 10 A. M.³⁹ Weather good today.

Tuesday, March 21. We are ready to start this morning. We left at eleven o'clock this morning. Got as far as the Missouri River when McMullen's cart broke down. Found the road very heavy and bad going for carts. We are camped tonight on the Little Heart. There are two women along now.⁴⁰ There is not much timber

³⁸ The party had been delayed so long by the storms that the supplies were running short. Contracts were issued to supply the garrison at Fort Lincoln with beef. Beef livers were rejected here and were sold by the contractors at the rate of twenty for a dollar. The Grand Forks men would go to the contractor's camp and get a gunny sack full of these livers. "And," said Holmes, "I've hated liver ever since."

"Farmer Brown" gave occasional financial support from proceeds of a faro game he was running at "The Hole in the Wall." (A saloon and gambling hall in Bismarck.)

³⁹ This train carried Custer and his staff to Bismarck. They were enroute to Fort Lincoln across the river from Bismarck. At Fort Lincoln he organized the expedition sent against the Sioux Indians and which resulted in the "Custer Massacre."

⁴⁰ One of them, Josephine Carney, later married Parkins at Ft. Buford, one of the men that joined the party at Bismarck.

A Dutchman with his partner were going thru with one horse. They

on the river here and parties coming through in the summer will find it difficult to get wood for camp. We had no guards out and we all went to bed with our rifles by our sides. Some of the teams that started from Bismarck did not get into camp.⁴¹ Wed., March 22. Got up at 5:30 and got ready to start at 6:30. The teams that did not get in last night came in just as we were ready to go. The roads are very bad, if they do not get better it will take us about twenty days to get into the Hills. We are in hopes they will improve. Took dinner out on the prairie, had no wood. We held a meeting and elected Tom Hall as Captain of the Expedition.⁴² We camped on a small creek—do not know the name of it. It is not down on the card of distances but I think it is about 15 miles from the Little Heart. Our party consists of 48 men, 3 women, 7 children and about 20 dogs. We expect to put out guards tonight. The dogs kept up a continual howling all night and we had very little sleep. We went about two miles and found a note left there by Ward.⁴³ The name of the Creek that we camped on last night is Ash Creek. He (Ward) is going to wait for us at the Cannon Ball but do not think he will as we did not get away as soon as we expected to. We stopped for dinner at a creek. Think it is the Shantipeda. Do not know that it is or not. Went four or five miles farther and camped. Wood is scarce here. We

had joined the expedition in Bismarck. The Dutchman was accompanied by his dog and her puppies. At a night camp their horse was kicked and its leg broken. They cached such part of the load as they could not pack and with the puppies tied in a blanket and slung on his back he tramped thru to the Hills.

⁴¹ Toward midnight of the twenty-first, two soldiers from Fort Lincoln came into camp. They offered for sale a quantity of cartridges (about a bushel), which, no doubt, had been stolen from the fort.

⁴² At this meeting Holmes was elected clerk but he made no entry of this fact in the log. The clerk's duties were to call the roll, select men for guard duty, etc.

⁴³ Ward, an older brother of George Ward, joined the party in Bismarck. He still lives in Bismarck.

had to haul it some distance. We held a meeting this evening and appointed a committee of five to draft a code of laws for the government of the company while on the road.⁴⁴ March 23. The weather is fine this evening. Looks as if it would be better from now on. We are now about thirty-five miles from Bismarck. The wood here is very scarce. Had to carry all our wood on our backs for about a mile. Friday 24. Started out at 6 A. M. One more team came in this morning with three men, making our party now number 59 men. Began to cloud up about noon. Did not make the Cannon Ball as we expected but had to camp, as we supposed, about 30 miles from the place we were camped last night. We found California Joe was slightly mistaken in his estimate as to the distance as we have found every one of the drives longer than stated by him.⁴⁵

Saturday, March 25. Left camp about seven in the morning. A heavy mist has fallen off and on all day. At times snow fell. Camped for dinner about one and one-half miles from the Cannon Ball. Some of Ward's party came out and met us. Found some fine specimens of petrified wood today. Also saw the first cactus I have seen since I started on this trip. Reached the Cannon Ball at 3 P. M. Camped a quarter of a mile from Ward's camp. Weather still cloudy with snow squalls. Commenced to snow in the night. Sunday, March 26. Did not leave the Cannon Ball until 10 o'clock. The weather is very bad. Storming so that we can hardly follow the road. The roads are very bad, the worst we have found since we started from Bismarck. Followed the Cannon

⁴⁴ Holmes recalls the names of four men appointed on this committee. They were William Budge, Tom Hall, Tom Cushing, D. M. Holmes, acting with a fifth whose name he has forgotten.

⁴⁵ California Joe, an old time guide, who had been with Custer on an expedition to the Hills in 1875 and had erected guideboards. Holmes said he believes now that California Joe's estimates were right. The party estimates were influenced by state of mind due to condition of the roads.

Ball about two miles from our camping ground. Saw a very fine valley along the river and some indications of good trapping. Think that there are some good coal mines near here. Found a camping place about 6 P. M. Snowed all day and all night. Several of the horses gave out today. Think we will have to lay up for our horses to rest. Our ponies are all right.⁴⁶

I was on guard tonight for the first time. Very bad night. This is the best camp ground we have struck since starting. Plenty of wood here.

March 27. Did not leave camp today, still storming. Think it may clear up soon. Hope so. Cleared up about noon. We had a shooting match this afternoon for a calf. Jones' party got three-quarters and Mitchell's one-quarter.⁴⁷ We are camped on a small creek. Think it is Porcupine Creek. It is the best camp we have had yet but think that in the summer there will be no water in the river.

March 28. Started at 7 A. M. Saw several good camping grounds. Stopped at Cedar Creek to wait for one of the teams that could not start out this morning on account of one of their horses being kicked. The distance to the next camping ground according to the guide board put up by California Joe is twenty-one miles but suppose it is the same as all the other distances, about one-third longer than stated by the cards and guide boards.⁴⁸ It is clouding up again today and think we will have another storm soon. Went on about 8 miles from Cedar Creek and camped at Growler's Creek. Found a good camp but every one was discouraged and with the camp,

⁴⁶ The Indian ponies had more endurance, being tough, wiry little animals.

⁴⁷ Jones and Mitchell were men who had joined the party since they left Grand Forks.

⁴⁸ Some one in Bismarck had issued cards giving distances between camping places.

therefore the name. There is some wood here and parties can find good camping places for some time.

Wed., March 29. Started at 7 o'clock this morning. Roads were bad for some distance out of camp. Camped for dinner about 16 miles from Cedar Creek. While we were taking dinner California Joe came into camp. He is on his way back to Bismarck. He has been twelve days out from the Hills. I think that he is lost. We made a dry camp for the night about twenty-five miles from Cedar Creek. Some of the boys went ahead and they say we are about two and a half miles from Grand River. That will make the distance twenty-seven and one-half miles instead of twenty-one as marked on the sign board at Cedar Creek.⁴⁹ We have been going through sage brush and prickly pear beds all afternoon.⁵⁰

Thursday, March 30. Started for camp about 8 in the morning. Arrived at Grand River about 9. Had to ford the river here.⁵¹ Found Indian signs here. We are now camped on Grand River. Intend to stay here this afternoon and let our horses rest. We saw one cedar tree. It is about two miles north of Rabbit Springs.

We are camped at a dry camp. Parties going over this road will have to carry wood from Grand River to last them until they reach Moro River.

⁴⁹ Custer and California Joe put up the guide boards the year before. The distances were estimated and there was no actual measure made.

⁵⁰ Prickly pear, a species of cactus.

William Budge had recurring spells of snowblindness and at such times it was necessary that he be lead. Not being able to see he trod upon these cacti, filling his feet with the needle-like spines.

The men had blackened their faces to prevent cold sores and also to shade the eyes. By this time their faces were fairly crusted with grime and their unkempt beards did not improve their appearance.

⁵¹ The water was deep owing to spring freshets, and reached about to the arm pits. McMillan had driven in and had reached deep water when his cart broke down. Standing in the icy waters he lifted his voice in song:

"On Jordan's stormy banks I stand and cast a wistful eye
To Canaan's fair and happy land where my possessions lie."

Others of the party waded in and helped him land his load.

Saturday, Apr. 1. Left camp at 8 A. M. Roads bad. Crossed California Joe's last trail at 10 A. M. Took dinner about 5 miles from last night's camp. Made dry camp at Big Meadow which we reached at 5 P. M. There's no wood between Grand River and Moro River. Parties starting from Grand River should take wood enough for two days. Our camp was attacked by Indians at 12 P. M. We lost 16 head of cattle and two ponies. There's one steer shot. I think it was shot by one of our own men. My pony was stolen and one of Budge and Eshelman's. I was out most all night looking for the trail. I started once on "Old Charley" but had to come back. He could not keep up with the rest of the horses.⁵² There was great excitement in the camp. They began to shoot when they could not see anything to shoot at. One man when the alarm was first given began to roll up all his blankets.⁵³

Sunday, Apr. 2. About 14 of us started out this morning after the Indians. Overtook them in the Bad Lands. There they closed in on us and kept us coralled there all day. One of our men named George Ward was killed and Collins was shot through the knee. Jim Williams left the main party and started back for camp. When about a half a mile away the Indians shot his horse and also shot him through the leg with an arrow, breaking it. When he fell from his horse he got in a buffalo wallow where he stayed all day standing off the Indians alone.⁵⁴ We got back to camp about 11 P. M. and were

⁵² Old Charley was one of the ponies owned jointly by Budge and Eshelman.

⁵³ In the excitement following the sounding of the alarm they were rushing around without any purpose and for some reason the stopping to roll blankets at such a time impressed Holmes as one of the absurd spectacles.

⁵⁴ Williams became frightened and started to ride for camp. After being wounded he got back his courage and made a gallant fight and at night, under cover of the darkness, was rescued by the rest of the party. Joe Girard and a Norwegian named Smith, with one other, broke for camp.

stopped by the guard until they found out who we were. They called us to come on, that it was all right. Every person in camp was up almost instantly. Tom Cushing was the first man to reach camp.⁵⁵ Jim Williams wounded.⁵⁶ Collins was wounded in the leg. We were all well pleased that so many had got back. But the death of one of our party cast a gloom over our whole camp. They failed to get any of the cattle or the horses and lost five more horses in the fight. Jenks captured one of the Indian ponies.⁵⁷ We buried Ward in the middle of the corral. The boys that were out with him fired a salute over his grave.⁵⁸ I went out on guard, stayed until morning.⁵⁹

Monday, Apr. 3. This morning we overhauled our loads and loaded it all on to 3 carts.⁶⁰ One of our horses was wounded yesterday in the fight. There were two carts and one wagon left here. We cut up the carts before leaving camp. We placed a board at the head of Ward's grave with his name, place of birth, age, and

Their horses were better than the others and when they reached camp they reported the entire pursuing party killed.

⁵⁵ Tom Cushing, at present a resident of Culbertson, Montana. His wife was an Indian. He had been wounded in a previous engagement and was not then recovered from that wound.

⁵⁶ The men set Williams' leg that was broken and he was carried in one of the wagons, but the jarring would dislocate the bones and each night it was a part of the making camp to reset William's leg.

⁵⁷ They fought from behind the horses, using them for protection.

⁵⁸ Holmes had in his kit an Episcopal prayer book. From it he read the burial service. But with eyes weakened by snowblindness the reading was difficult. He supplied parts from memory and trusted that the Lord knew what was meant. The lantern used was of sheet iron with holes punched and a candle for light.

⁵⁹ Eshelman and Holmes were the relief for Neise Aaker. They took blankets with them and told him the commanding officer ordered he remain on guard the rest of the night. Aaker questioned, "How in —— did that happen?" but stolidly accepted the order while the two boys rolled in and slept until morning.

⁶⁰ Eshelman, Budge and Holmes are meant here.

cause of death upon it.⁶¹ We drove today to Moro Creek, 9 miles from Big Meadows. We started out with heavy hearts. We are all thinking of the Indians. We travel more carefully than usual. We camped about 4 P. M. Plenty of wood and water here. Good camping ground on either side of the creek.

Tuesday, Apr. 4. Did not move today. Stormed all forenoon.⁶² Began to clear up about 2 P. M.

Wed., Apr. 5. Got a good, early start this morning. Got to Cottonwood Creek at 10:30 A. M. and to the South Fork of the Moro at 12:30 P. M. Camped here for dinner. One of the teams was nearly played out. Don't think it will get through. We have driven 18 miles today. I think we are near Long Butte Creek. We have seen no guide boards since leaving Cottonwood Creek. If we make as good time for the next 7 days as we did today we will make the Hills. We saw Harney's Peak today for the first time.

Thursday, Apr. 6. Started out at 6 A. M., but had to wait for some of the teams. The roads are bad. Did not freeze much last night. The horses are all played out. We found a wagon on the road. Left there by some one who had gone through. Jenks hitched his mules to it and left his cart. Smith hitched onto one of the carts and left his wagon and packed one of his horses.⁶³ We crossed the South Fork of the Moro about 9 A. M.⁶⁴ The distance given by California Joe, from Cottonwood Creek to the South Branch of the Moro, is 3 miles, but it is 12 miles. We are camped now on a small stream about 2 miles from Elm Creek. I think we will

⁶¹ Indians dug up Ward's body the next day and scalping it left it lying. Parties coming thru later saw it there, and reported to the Holmes party at Black Hills that they had buried the body.

⁶² Snowstorm.

⁶³ All men were so tired, to change was a relief.

⁶⁴ Moro is Moreau or Owl Creek.

have to throw part of our loads away. I have no horse now and can't have much to say about the loads. We will not move from here today. It is about 1 P. M. now. Stripes having come to the conclusion that it was necessary to lighten up the loads proceeded to overhaul the baggage and throw away all extra articles. After lightening up all he could and thinking he had made a reduction in the load of about 50 lbs., we weighed the articles he had thrown away and found the great amount to be 6 lbs.⁶⁵ I think we will have no more trouble with the horses since the reduction. One of the teams came into camp with one horse and sixteen men. Kelly was wheel horse working against Halloway's black.⁶⁶

Friday, Apr. 7. Some of the teams have changed horses this morning and we are on the road again. We made Elm Creek at 9 A. M. Long Butte Creek at 10:30 A. M. North fork of Willow Creek at 12. The roads are still bad and the horses continue to give out. We have made about 9 miles today and we could make no more on account of the horses. Some of the party want to go on but we do not want to split on account of the Indians. Wood is scarce here. None nearer than 1 mile from the crossing. We cut some willows to get our dinner. Do not know what we will do for supper.

April 8. Started out at 6:30 this morning. Roads are good. We made the 4th Dry Fork for dinner. Think it a short ten miles. Horses are played out as usual. Halloway had to cache some of his goods here. I think we will get along better now. We have made about 12 miles today. We are now at the second Dry Fork. There is good camping ground all along the way now. We came near having a row in the camp this afternoon on

⁶⁵ Some one in the party had a pair of spring scales.

⁶⁶ The men pulled on a rope on opposite sides of tongue. Halloway had a fine strong team when he joined the expedition at Bismarck, but overloaded his wagon hauling for profit until they were unable to do more.

account of the camping ground.⁶⁷ We have seen Indian signs today. About 10 P. M., just as I had gone to bed, there was an alarm and two shots were fired by the guards. We were all up in a few minutes and the guard came in and reported he had shot a cow. It rained most all night. We saw a fire off to our left. Think it is some party coming in from Yankton by the other route.

Sunday, Apr. 9. The roads were so bad we could not start in the morning. We got ready to go about noon. Drove to Sulphur Creek and took our dinner about 4 P. M. Then we started out and had to drive until about 6 P. M. looking for a camping ground. We had to camp without wood. Had a few willows to get supper with. We saw the Black Hills today.⁶⁸

Mon., Apr. 10. Started out at 6 A. M. without our breakfast. Drove to Cherry Creek. Found the roads bad. The country is a regular alkali flat. We have camped now. Going to get dinner. Our horses are played out,⁶⁹ especially "Old Charley." We could not make very good time today. Passed Dead Horse Creek at 1 P. M. and drove about 4 miles further and made another dry camp. It stormed most all night. Rained the fore part and then snow.

Tuesday, Apr. 11. Stormed so hard that we could not leave camp this morning. Some of the men started on this morning to go to Belle Fourche. I do not know if they will wait for us or not.

We had to cut up one of our carts to get dinner. We had a stove put up in our tent this afternoon.⁷⁰ It is still storming. Do not know if it will clear up or not. Hope it will so we can go on in the morning. We will have to stop at Belle Fourche and let our horses rest up some.

⁶⁷ Men were in quarrelsome mood and dissatisfied with place selected.

⁶⁸ In sight of Bear Butte.

⁶⁹ Made pancakes of salt, water, flour and fed them to the horses.

⁷⁰ A 10x12 wall tent.

Stopped storming at about 11 P. M. I was on guard to-night from 8 to 1. The party lost two horses at this camp. One froze to death and the other shot to keep it from freezing.⁷¹

Wed., Apr. 12. Left camp about 6 A. M., roads are very bad. Old Charley is so near played out that we had to pack him with 2 sacks of flour and take the rest of the load on our backs. We drove about 6 miles and camped for dinner. We found some wood here on a small creek not down on Joe's card. After we got about 2 miles out one of the party reported he had seen a party of about 5 mounted Indians. The train was immediately put in order to form a corral quickly if we should see any signs of the Indians and Keho began to put his rifle in fighting order. He has to snap caps ahead awhile before he commences firing.⁷² Some of the men went ahead and reported that the Indians were a band of antelope that had crossed our trail. We now commenced to move on with less anxiety. We have left two more wagons since noon. One of the Frenchmen⁷³ left his and Halloway left his and packed his horses but we did not proceed far when it was found necessary to unpack them and lead the horses. At this time Keho appeared on the scene and suggested that bleeding would

⁷¹ A man named Hildebrand was with the party. He was traveling with a family, a wife and eight children. They were out of provisions and the Grand Forks boys assumed care of them.

⁷² Keho, member of party with an old rifle. The spring was not strong enough to fire cartridge at first snap so he would snap a number and when those were snapped a second time they would fire.

⁷³ There were two Frenchmen who had joined the party on the road and typified for them a Mutt and Jeff. When they made camp the tall one would scold and slap the little fellow. They furnished amusement for all with their squabbles.

"Noisy Jack," another member of the expedition, had with him a boy 15 or 16 years old that he had picked up somewhere. He abused the boy, beating and kicking him. The boy appealed to some of the men, "What shall I do?" "The next time he touches you, shoot him." The boy took the advice given and the next time Noisy Jack laid hand on him he shot him thru the leg.

be beneficial to the horses.⁷⁴ He proceeded forthwith to make an incision in the mouth of one of the horses and it came near bleeding to death. Mulligan came in to camp leading his horse. It had played out about 2 miles from the camp. Budge, Fadden, Pete⁷⁵ and I went back and brought in three sacks of flour he had left.⁷⁶ We reached camp at dark. We are camped on the Belle Fourche, the north fork of the Big Cheyenne.

Thursday, Apr. 13. The sun was up high when we got up this morning and we are going to lay up today, no hurry. We had our breakfast and then went to work baking bread for the horses.⁷⁷ Some of the men went down to the river prospecting and found color in several places but the prospect is so light it will not pay to work.

Friday, 14. Started at 7 A. M. Found the roads very bad. The teams are playing out fast. We made 10 miles today. Rained some in the evening. We camped on Bear Creek. We are now directly opposite Bear Butte.

Saturday, 15. Two teams and 18 men started on this morning. We could go on but some of the teams are played out and we did not want to leave the families here without protection. We will not move from here today. The weather has cleared up some. Think we will have good weather now. We can go from here to Rapid City in 3 days more and we are all anxious to get there.

Sunday, 16. Started out at 6 A. M. The roads were very bad for the first 4 miles. We then found them better. The horses were getting very tired when we stopped

⁷⁴ The horses were staggering with weakness and Keho declared them to be suffering with blind staggers.

⁷⁵ Pete Girard.

⁷⁶ The flour Mulligan was hauling for three of them. The fourth man went to watch for Indians.

⁷⁷ The batter made, they would pour it into frying pans until it set, then hang it around the fire on sticks to dry out. Flour was their only supply and since the horses could not eat it as flour they baked it. Some nights they worked until eleven o'clock, after making camp, preparing this for the horses.

for dinner. We reached our dinner camp at 9 A. M. and stayed until noon. Then started out and made Wall's Creek at 5 P. M. Found a good camp.⁷⁸ Some one had changed the distance on the signboard here making it 16 miles instead of 6. We were all very much disappointed when we saw that the distance was so great. Upon examining the mark we saw that the figure "1" had been made since the rest of the letters.

Monday, 17. Started at 6 A. M. We are now in the foot hills. We are going through groves of pine at short intervals. We reached Elk Creek at 9 A. M. The sign here has also been changed making the distance 112 miles instead of 12. There are several ranch claims taken here. This is the finest farm land we have seen. We left Elm Creek at 12 noon and drove 6 miles. California Joe has laid out a townsite at the crossing of Elk Creek and several parties have taken claims. We have been traveling through a fine valley all afternoon. We are camped now about one-fourth of a mile from the foot of the Hills. We expect to reach Rapid City tomorrow if the weather is favorable. The rest of our party that started out ahead of us camped here last night. We are just one day behind them.

Friday, 18. Started from camp about 7 A. M. Crossed Box Elder at about 10 in the morning. Reached Rapid at about 11 A. M. Rapid City consists of about 12 houses. There is a stockade here partly finished. The Indians made a raid on the town this afternoon and wounded one man and two mules and ran off with two horses. Part of the party that left us at Bear Creek is here, the rest have gone out prospecting. They will be back in a day or two. I think we will stay here until

⁷⁸ This had been a camping place for Custer on a trip the preceding year. The picket line was in evidence showing where the horses had stood and stamped. There was a fine spring at this camp.

they come back. Parties are leaving the Hills discouraged and others are coming daily with great hope for the future prospect.

Wed., Apr. 19. Got up about 8 A. M. Weather cold, wind from the north. We went out for a load of wood this morning. One man to get the wood and the rest to guard him against the Indians. Some of the boys went out prospecting this morning. Two teams came in from Custer City this afternoon and reported two parties attacked by the Indians at Buffalo Gap. Two men wounded. I do not know when we will leave here.

Thursday, 20th. We are getting ready to go to White Wood. We will leave here tomorrow. I went down to the lower town this afternoon. There are about twenty houses there. I saw some men driving logs, with miner's picks, rifles and revolvers. We moved our tent up town this evening.

Friday, 21. We got ready and left this morning. We left McKinley here. He was not able to go along with us.⁷⁹ We have packed our horses and left our carts. We met some of the boys that had gone out prospecting. They did not have very favorable reports. Mulligan's horse gave out and he had to go back. He sent the horse back with Wright and Billy Myrick and he and Pete came on. We have passed several mining camps where men are at work but have seen no gold yet. We camped on Deer Creek about ten miles from Rapid City.

Saturday, 22nd. Pete and Mulligan started back this morning. There are only six of our party left now out of the 14 that started. I suppose we will soon all be scattered. We struck the trail from Custer City to White Wood at 8 A. M. Found the roads good. There are ranches started all along the road. We went about 16

⁷⁹ He had pneumonia.

miles today and camped. The horses were stampeded in the evening by one of the men who went down to the creek for water.⁸⁰

Sunday, 23rd. Left camp at 7:30. Had dinner at Elk Creek and drove on to Bear Creek. Some of the boys have gone prospecting and others hunting. Tom Hall and I are left in camp. The boys came back, did not find any prospects or any game.

Monday, 24. Left camp at 8 A. M. Roads are bad today. Budge, Whitney and Regan went down Bear Creek prospecting. We passed the first mining camp in Split Tail at 11:30 A. M. This is the first sluice box I have seen in the Hills. Reached Deadwood at 12 M. There are several men getting ready to work their claims. We camped on Discovery about one-half mile below Elizabeth City. George Fadden and I got dinner. Then Stripes and I went up to Elizabeth. There are four whiskey shops here but no provisions for sale in the town. Flour is worth \$50 a bbl., bacon 60 cents a pound. There is one house completed in Elizabeth and about 10 or 12 in course of construction. There's a shoe maker shop here. The shop is built of two deer skins stitched together and stretched over a pole. The proprietor was sitting on a rock in front of his shop working away as contented as he could be. We went on up the Creek to the mouth of the Deadwood. Here we found about 60 to 70 miners gathered. They came for the purpose of adjusting some difficulty about a claim between two men. They were all armed with rifles and revolvers. Some were drunk and made considerable noise. We not being interested in their trouble took a back seat. It appears there is dissatisfaction here in regard to the claims

⁸⁰ A man went down to the creek for drink without arousing them. The horses stampeded and the men jumped up, rifles in hand. He called in time to save himself from being shot.

and a party of miners have called a meeting to be held on Thursday, the 27th, for the purpose of forming one district out of the three now existing and also for the purpose of cutting down the claims from 300 to 200 feet. There are about seven or eight hundred here now on the Creek, out of employment and want work. The ground is held by a few men, some holding a claim in each district, and having a different representing day for each enables them to represent all of their claims. That is why the outside parties desire the districts consolidated. The claims are now 300 feet on the Gulch and from rim rock to rim rock across it. They intned to try and cut down the claims to 150 or 200 feet. The claim holders say that they will die before they will give up any of their ground and the other parties say they will get ground or die. There was one man in town yesterday with \$50 in dust. The boys came back from Bear Creek late in the evening. Report poor prospects there.

Tuesday 25th. Some of the boys went down to Crook City this morning. I went up to Elizabeth City a while in the morning. Did not stay long. We burnt a tent this afternoon.⁸¹ The boys came back from Crook City about 7 P. M.

Wednesday 26th. We all went out prospecting. Budge and I went over to Hartley's Gulch. Did not find good enough prospects to take a claim. We got back at 7 P. M. Found all the boys back in camp. None of them found anything.

Thursday 27th. Stripes started back to Rapid City this morning after the rest of our stuff. I think he will bring McKinley along with him. Zeb, Jenks, Nelse, Regan and I went up Whitewood prospecting. Went to the miners' meeting in the afternoon. Everything went off quiet. Put me in mind of Grand Forks election.

⁸¹ The tent was set afire by an overheated stove.

Friday 28th. Some of the boys went prospecting this morning. Whitney and I stayed in camp. We went to Elizabeth in the afternoon. We got a job to work on the street.⁸²

Saturday 29th. We went up and went to work. This is my first day's work since I left Grand Forks. It was rather hard. There was another miners' meeting in the afternoon called for the purpose of voting on the by-laws of the district drawn up by a committee appointed for that purpose at the last meeting and, also, for the purpose of electing a recorder. The by-laws were adopted after some amendment and John Blunt was elected recorder for the term of 6 months. I do not know if the by-laws adopted at this meeting can be enforced or not. The claim holders say that they will not respect them and the other parties say they will enforce them peaceably if they can but forcibly if they must. Someone may probably lose his life in the trouble. I signed my name to the by-laws saying that I would help enforce them but if things do not look more favorable soon I will start for Cheyenne or F. Pierre and say goodbye to this New Eldorado of America and try to make a living in some other honest occupation.

Sunday 30th. Stayed in camp all day, nothing going on.

Monday, May 1st. Went up town this morning looking for work, couldn't find any. The jumping party started out this morning and jumped several claims. The miners all gathered at Elizabeth City and formed them-

⁸² The day they worked on the street they were to receive \$5 for the day's work. The pay was in beef. Whitney and Holmes took it to camp and it was eaten up in one day. This discouraged further attempts to work.

⁸³ An old man drove in from Cheyenne with yoke of oxen. One of the oxen played out, that it would die. He hired Jenks and Holmes to butcher it. The pay was the head of the ox. They took the head to camp, cut off the horns and skin and made soup.

selves into an organization to hold their claims by force. They have given three of the leaders until tomorrow noon to leave the Gulch.

Tuesday, May 2nd. There are some teams going out to Ft. Pierre. I think that I will go along with them as I can't see any prospects here. I do not think there is as much gold here as represented. If there was the claim holders would be more anxious to open them up.

Wednesday 3rd. Went up to see about the teams. They will start out this afternoon. I hate to go and leave the boys but I think some of them will follow me before long.⁸⁴ The teams came along about 4 P. M. Started and went out as far as Hartley's Gulch. Snowed all night.

Thursday 4th. Snowing this morning. Started out and went about two miles when the cattle gave out. We loaded our freight on half of the wagon and went on.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Eshelman came back to Grand Forks in the fall. Died in Grand Forks. Budge returned in the fall—lives at Medford, Oregon.

McKinley, Holmes lost track of. He was farming near Manvel for Collin McLachlan. One day when driving a harvester he became angry and getting down from the machine started across the field and was not heard of afterwards.

Geo. Fadden returned soon after this and is in California at present. Myrick came back. Holmes does not know what became of him.

Hall was left in the Black Hills.

Girard came back and was lost sight of.

Williams came back as soon as dismissed from a hospital at Indianapolis where he had been sent by public subscription to have his leg treated. The bones had healed without knitting. He lived here until a short time ago and is in a soldiers' home at present.

Al Wright came back, took a claim at Bachelor's Grove and died there.

Mulligan stayed in the Hills.

Whitney stayed in the Hills or at least he never returned to Grand Forks.

Jenks came back and was afterwards sheriff of Grand Forks County.

Brown returned. He attended County fairs, working as a professional gambler.

Rattlesnake Jack struck a quartz lead. He sold his interest for \$25,000, came into Deadwood, played poker, and in thirty days was broke and looking for a grubstake. This mine is known as Rattlesnake Jack mine and is still yielding.

⁸⁵ Two oxen and one horse pulling from a saddle rope.

We only got up about six miles today. Camped at Bear Creek.

Friday 5th. Left Bear Creek at 7 A. M. and drove about 4 miles when we found that the cattle could not go any further with the wagon. We packed our baggage all on the cattle and horse, left the wagon and went on. Left one of the oxen at Elk Horn Ranch and went on. We met a party today coming in from Cheyenne, one of the party was "Calamity Jane," and camped for the night.⁸⁶

Saturday 6th. Started out about 6 A. M. went to the Forks for dinner. Made upper Rapid City at sundown and arrived at Lower Rapid City at about 9 P. M.

Sunday 7th. Did not go out of town today. There are about 50 men here going out to Ft. Pierre in the morning. There is not much excitement here now. There are about as many men leaving as there are coming in.⁸⁷

Monday 8th. Got ready and left 9 A. M. Passed the place where Cogan was killed, at 10 A. M.⁸⁸ Went on and camped on Box Elder for dinner and drove to Antelope Creek for supper. The roads are good so far. No bad hills. The greatest objection to this route is the scarcity of wood and water. We will have to haul wood with us most of the way.

Tuesday 9th. Left camp at 6 A. M. stopped for dinner at a mud hole. No wood here. Met Dillon's⁸⁹ train coming in about 3 P. M. They report 4 men of the last train going in killed by the Indians. We reached the South Fork of the Cheyenne at about 5 P. M. Stopped here, had

⁸⁶ "Calamity Jane," a camp follower. She was riding horseback attired as a man with a Winchester rifle across her saddle bow.

⁸⁷ A man who had started a restaurant wanted a sign. Holmes painted a board sign for him and received sixteen loaves of bread in payment for the work.

⁸⁸ Cogan, a man on the way to the Black Hills, was killed by Indians a few days previous.

⁸⁹ Dillon, a freighter carrying between Pierre and the Hills.

our supper and drove on to the top of the hills and camped for the night. There are about 4 miles of bad land here. We are now out about 40 miles. We expect to reach Fort Pierre about Sunday night.

Wednesday 10th. Started at 5 A. M. Found water in several places along the road but it will all be dried up when warm weather comes. Reached the South Fork of the Bad River at 11 A. M. and Pino Springs at 12 M. Stopped here for dinner and drove to the North Fork of the Bad River and camped for the night.

Thursday 11th. Left camp at 5 A. M. Found the grave of the four men killed by the Indians of the 4th at a small creek that empties into Bad River. We found Texas Jack's scalp on the ground a short distance from where he was killed. We also found his hat, it had four bullet holes thru it.⁹⁰ I think that these men were killed by Indians from the Cheyenne Agency as none of the scalps were taken along.⁹¹ We went on, camped at Grind Stone Butte Creek for dinner and at Mitchell Creek for the night.

Friday 12th. Left camp at 5 A. M. Found wood and water in several places. Camped on Long Lance Creek.

Saturday 13th. Left camp at 4:30 A. M. The horse team drove on, intending to reach Pierre today. Drove 25 miles and camped on Willow Creek for dinner. This is the longest distance on the road without wood or water, but both could be had by leaving the trail about 2 miles to the north. We left Willow Creek about 5 P. M. with the intention of reaching Pierre tonight. About 6 P. M. a storm commenced and continued until we reached the river. We passed the steamer "Far West" about five

⁹⁰ The long hair made identification possible as he had hair of unusual length.

⁹¹ The Agency being so near they would not dare to carry scalps with them. The names of the four men were Jack Harrison, Saddler, W. H. Gardner and Texas Jack.

miles from Pierre and arrived there about 10 P. M. Everybody all wet to the skin.

Sunday 14th. This is the most beautiful place I have seen since starting. It seems nice to be able to leave camp without being encumbered with rifle and revolver. We will leave here for Yankton in the morning.

Monday 15th. Left Pierre this morning with a horse and mule for Yankton.⁹² Took dinner at Medicine Creek at a Frenchman's. Went on to Chapelle Creek and stayed for the night at a half breed's. Made 22 miles today.

Tuesday 16th. Left Chapelle Creek about 7 A. M. Dinner at Chairea de Ruche. The stage passed us here. Left about 2 P. M. Met two teams 10 miles before Thompson. They told us that the fort expected to be attacked by Indians every day. We reached Fort Thompson just at sundown.⁹³ Found 24 lodges of Indians camped here but the inhabitants were in no ways alarmed. They did not fear any attack from them. Saw a Yankton paper here of May 16, the first paper I have seen since leaving for the Hills. Saw an account of the death of James Deering in it.⁹⁴ This is the first death

⁹² Upon leaving Rapid City Holmes made the acquaintance of Charles Holland who was riding a horse and leading a mule. He permitted Holmes to ride the mule and in return he assumed entire care of both animals for this privilege. Holland left the party at Yankton to go by stage and Holmes went on with the two animals.

Aden A. Hatch, a sixteen year old boy, had been with the party from Rapid City. Holmes became interested in him and looked after him a little. The boy understood telegraphy which gave them a common interest. The night the party reached Pierre he found the boy missing. No one knew anything concerning him. Their trip had been thru cactus and the boy was in rags and almost barefoot and he had suffered greatly. When Holmes ascertained the boy had not come in with them he turned back and after riding eight or ten miles found him sitting upon a boulder crying bitterly. Holmes took him back to Pierre and when Holland gave both horse and mule into Holmes' charge he permitted the boy to ride the mule.

⁹³ "It was about dark when we reached Ft. Thompson," said Holmes, "and we heard them sounding the bugle. It was the finest sound I ever heard."

⁹⁴ James Deering used to keep a hotel in Grand Forks.

among the members of the Chorazin Club since its organization.⁹⁵

Wednesday 17th. Started from Fort Thompson at 8 A. M. Passed the Indian mission at Elm Creek at 10 A. M. Stopped at noon and let our horses eat. There is no ranch between Fort Thompson and Red Lake. Arrived there at 7 P. M. We overtook a man on foot about 6 miles from the ranch. We let him ride in on the mule.

Thursday 18th. Left Red Lake at 8 A. M. Took dinner at Jones' ranch, Bijou Hills, and stopped for supper at Felices, Flat Creek.

Friday 19th. Started at 6 this morning. This is the first early start we've got on the road. Reached Archambault's ranch at 11 A. M. Had dinner and went on to White Swan. Arrived there at 5 P. M. We have made good time today.

Saturday 20th. Did not start from White Swan until 9 A. M. I was waiting for a telegram. Rode on to Chocteau Creek this evening and stopped for the night. Met H. B. Day here. He is the husband of one of the women murdered by the Indians at Brule City. He had not heard it before we told him.⁹⁶

Sunday 20⁹⁷ (21). Started out this morning with the intention of reaching Yankton this evening but did not succeed. Passed thru Springfield at noon. Went on to Bonhomme at 2 P. M. Took dinner there. Went on about 12 miles when I found the horse would not stand

⁹⁵ A club organized the previous year. The group of young men who composed it used to meet in the telegraph office. They would meet for a social evening. The secrecy was chiefly to arouse curiosity.

⁹⁶ The story of this massacre had been current at White Swan. When they told him the story and that one woman was named Day, he started in great haste for Brule City. They then learned he was H. B. Day. The report they afterwards learned was false. H. B. Day was later Republican representative in Congress.

⁹⁷ This is a mistake. Holmes evidently lost track of the date for the twentieth was on Saturday. This error is continued thru the journal.

to go into Yankton this evening. I stopped at a farm house along the road.

Monday 21 (22). Started out at 6 A. M. Reached Yankton at 10 A. M. Stopped at the St. Charles Hotel. I have now reached civilization once more. Times are very dull here now.

Tuesday 22 (23). Stayed in town all day. Nothing happened of any importance.

Thursday 24 (25). In town all day. Nisbet arrived from the Hills.⁹⁸

Friday 25 (26). Started for Sioux City this morning, reaching there at 12 M.⁹⁹

Saturday 26 (27). Made up my mind to go to St. Paul and perhaps back to Red River country again. It is the best country that I have found since I have been in the West. Went down to the St. Paul and Sioux City depot. Met a friend in the person of Mr. Humphrey. He is trying to get me a pass to St. Paul and gave me money to pay my expenses while I am here.

Sunday 27 (28). The weather is very warm today. Did not go around town much, went to the top of Prospect Hill in the evening. Got on the St. Paul train at 10:15 P. M. but could not persuade the conductor to carry me any further than LeMars, 25 miles east of Sioux City. Arrived there about 11:30 P. M. Put up at the hotel de freight car, best of accommodations. Bill of fare consisted of wind pudding, etc.

Monday 28 (29). Took the freight bound east this morning at 8 o'clock. Have secured a berth in one of the palace cars such as are used for the transportation of hogs, merchandise, lumber, deadbeats, etc. I cannot give

⁹⁸ Andy Nisbet, well educated Canadian, had worked with Holmes up on the Saskatchewan in 1847. He secured a job at Yankton as waiter on a steamboat going to Ft. Benton. He had trouble with the cook, a fight followed and they put Nisbet ashore. He walked back to Yankton.

⁹⁹ On a train, the Yankton and Sioux City line.

a very clear description of the country thru which we are traveling today as it is not considered advisable to keep the car window open, as the draft might have an injurious effect on my health. However, I got along without being discovered. At Worthington four more respectable bums joined me in the comforts of my palatial coach. We were discovered by one of the brakemen about 40 miles west of St. James but he did not squeal on us. We arrived at St. James at 9 P. M. The train lays over here until tomorrow morning. I retired to my berth, a car-load of lumber. Rained all night.¹⁰⁰

Monday 29. Got up this morning wondering where I could find a friend who would supply me with a little nourishment. Went up to the depot. I am now waiting for the freight to start. Do not know how I will succeed. Succeeded much better than I expected. I went in and chinned the operator awhile and succeeded in getting passed thru to St. Paul, also made a raise of 60 cents to get my dinner. This is much more pleasant than riding in a freight car with coat, hat and boots off, expecting every time the train stopped to be invited to take a walk. I saw one of my fellow passengers yesterday advised to try a little exercise, that riding was not good for his health. At Henderson, Mr. L. E. Obert¹⁰¹ came on the car bound for St. Paul. Oh, how my spirits rose, for in him I saw prospects ahead for another square meal. I was agreeably surprised for he paid for my supper, lodging and breakfast, and gave me 25 cents to buy tobacco with. I went to bed early after having a good supper served—European plan—and enjoyed a good night's rest, not

¹⁰⁰ He got out of the car in the morning and fell into conversation with a young Norwegian. Holmes claimed to be Norwegian and invited himself home to breakfast with this man. He sat down uninvited and ate breakfast, then thanked him and went on his way.

¹⁰¹ Obert was a government contractor and drove cattle thru to such points as Winnipeg and Pembina.

thinking of the future nor caring about the past. I do not know what I will have to go thru yet before I succeed in getting a job, but, "Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise."

Wednesday 31. Got up this morning much refreshed by a good night's rest. Took a walk around town to prepare for a good hearty breakfast for God only knows where the next meal is coming from. Had breakfast at 7 A. M. and started around to see the various telegraph offices. Do not know how I will succeed but suppose as usual. Did not succeed in getting anything to do. Got on the Hinckley accommodation at 3 P. M., and by giving the conductor a good talk succeeded in getting thru to Hinckley.¹⁰² As I was walking up and down the platform reflecting upon the past, thinking of the present and hoping for the future, the landlord came along and asked me if I did not want my supper—"only 25 cents." I replied that I would like very much to have the supper but did not have the 25 cents to pay for it. He told me if I was broke to come in and have supper which I accepted with thanks.

June 1, Thursday. At 1 A. M. the thru train came along and I took passage in a box car but did not succeed in getting thru. The conductor asked me to take a walk of about twenty-five miles which I had to do, arriving at Thompson junction at about 12 M. I went into a hotel here and politely asked the proprietor if I could get dinner without money. He told me he could not afford to feed all the deadbeats in the country. I am awfully hungry and no prospect of getting anything to eat. At 3 P. M. the freight left and by talking to the conductor I

¹⁰² Standing on the platform between cars waiting for the conductor, a drunken man fell between the cars. Holmes caught him and pulled him up, thus saving his life. This secured for him the favor of the conductor.

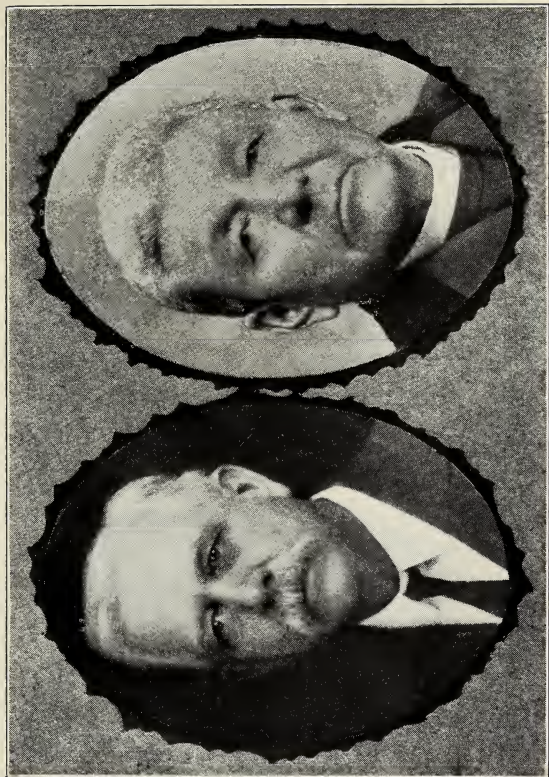
got to Brainerd alright at 11 P. M. Slept in the caboose of the train I came in on.

Friday 2nd. Got up at 4 A. M. and took a walk around town. Got into conversation with the sheriff and politely asked if he could advance me 50 cents to get my breakfast.¹⁰³ He gave me the money and I took breakfast at the Merchant Hotel but could not find the proprietor to pay him for it. Went down to the depot to try and get on some train. I saw Mr. Towne¹⁰⁴ and asked him for a pass thru to Fargo (end of line). He told me he would give me a job on a work train which I accepted as I am about tired of living on one meal every two days. I went down to the Brainerd House and got my dinner and paid for it. At 2 P. M. took the train and went back to Kimberly where the work train is, arriving there at 3 P. M. I am sitting on the platform at Kimberly. I hope my wanderings are over for some time.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ The sheriff questioned him and finally explained, saying: "I was looking for a fellow who broke into a store but I guess you're not the one."

¹⁰⁴ The superintendent of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

¹⁰⁵ Holmes stayed on the work train a week. When he reached Aitkin, he got off there and meeting Dave Willard, the operator, he told him his experiences. He remained at Aitkin over night, hoping then to persuade the conductor to take him to Fargo. Willard offered him \$10 to tide him over. He stayed two or three days in Aitkin helping the operator in the office, then was passed by the conductor to Fargo. At Fargo he took the bus to Grand Forks.



D. M. HOLMES

VICTOR RENVILLE

HISTORY OF THE TURTLE MOUNTAIN CHIPPEWA

By John Hesketh

Physiography of the Turtle Mountains

Along the northern boundary of North Dakota, about midway between the east and west boundaries, lies the region known as the Turtle Mountains. It occupies part of Rolette and Bottineau counties and extends into Canada. About half the region is in Canada and half of it in the United States. This so-called mountain region is not, strictly speaking, a mountain at all, but an elevation in the midst of a great plain. It rises from four hundred to six hundred feet above the general level of the plain below. It is about forty miles in length and twenty miles in width and contains therefore about eight hundred square miles. This region is of interest not only because of its scenic beauty and the history connected with it, but also because of its peculiar geological formation. It is, indeed, studied by geologists as a classic example of glacial formation.

The Turtle Mountain area is to be considered as an outlier or remnant of the Coteau de Mis-

souri, of which it at one time was undoubtedly a part. The Laramic clays and sands which underlie the coteau formerly extended east as far as the Turtle Mountains if not farther, and, by the erosion of the horizontal beds of that formation, this portion of the plateau has been left far beyond the escarpment marking the edge of the main plateau. The intervening valley between these two elevations was once occupied by glacial Lake Souris, but is now traversed by the Souris or Mouse River, which crosses the boundary from Canada, makes a big loop and recrosses the boundary line. The Turtle Mountain region received a heavy deposit from the glacial drift, which added about one hundred feet to its height; the outer covering of the mountains is that of a terminal moraine, with its numerous irregular hills and hollows. Parts of the region are quite level while others are very irregular, with sharp peaks rising above the general surface. Butte St. Paul is such a peak; it rises two thousand three hundred feet above sea level. Since the average height of the region is about two thousand feet, this leaves the butte about three hundred feet above the general level and makes it the most conspicuous spur on the southwest slope of the Turtle Mountains.

The Turtle Mountains may be considered the result of two agencies, water and ice. It was the stream erosion which, by carrying away the ad-

joining beds of strata on the west, first left, in the middle of a low plain, a series of cretaceous beds as an outlying mass in the low plain. The continental glacier next passed over and modified the area and after the retreat of the ice there was left behind a heavy mantle of drift. The peculiar heaped up hill and hollow topography of this drift gives the Turtle Mountains their present aspect.

The latest addition to the surface was a heavy growth of timber, in which the trees are not large, altho often several feet in diameter. There is present, also, a dense growth of underbrush, which in many parts makes it difficult or almost impossible to travel except by paths and roads. This thick underbrush affords an excellent hiding place for small game, for an animal only a few feet away may be easily hidden from view. The trees of the woods consist mainly of oak, birch and poplar with a few balsam of gilead trees. Another characteristic of the place is the numerous lakes; it has been estimated that there are about five hundred lakes in this small area varying in size from Lake Metigoshe and Upsilon to the many small ponds between the hills. The traces of early times can be seen everywhere; there are places where the Indians held their dances and councils; Indian burial grounds; Red River cart trails, which the Indians and half-breeds traveled; well marked buffalo wallows

and trails leading from lake to lake or down to the prairie; and along the southern side are found even today many deep holes on the high points, where the Indian guards used to lie, watching over the prairie for the approaching enemy, since from these points one can see for many miles over the plain below. In Indian times the conflict between the Dakota from the south and the Cree of the north was very bitter, as the mountains were considered as a sort of oasis in the vast prairie.

Food was easily obtained here; raspberries, cranberries, pincherries, blueberries, wild plums, June berries and bullberries grew in abundance, as did hazelnuts, acorns and other nuts. The Indian turnip (*Psoralea esculenta*) was found everywhere and the Indians used it as a regular source of food. Fish were found in many lakes and streams, and these, together with abundant wild fowl, formed an important part of their food supply. The most important single source of food was undoubtedly buffalo meat. Buffalo, we are told, used to go into the mountains in great herds to winter, while deer, moose, elk and antelope were plentiful there. Even yet it is not uncommon to find a bear, deer or lynx here, while wolves, foxes and rabbits are very numerous.

The skins of these animals together with those of the beaver, otter, weasel, mink, muskrat and

squirrel provided a very abundant means of clothing.

The contrast in climate between the bleak, windswept plain and the mountains with their well timbered hills is very striking, and this gave the Indians who held it a great advantage over their neighbors, especially in winter.

Is it not natural, then, that we should find in this region great strife between the Indians for the possession of an area so well supplied with food, shelter and fuel, and a place easily defended? This is why constant war was carried on between the surrounding tribes for the possession of the Turtle Mountains.

Early Life Among the Chippewas

The migration of the Chippewas of the lake and wooded region of Minnesota and Wisconsin to the Dakota plains was accompanied by changes in habits and customs. As the Chippewas or Ojibway pushed farther west they drove back the other tribes and adapted themselves to the plains life. During the first half of the nineteenth century they were standing, as it were, with one foot in the wooded region of Minnesota and the other on the Dakota prairie.

The fight between the various tribes for the possession of certain parts of Dakota was very bitter; especially is this true of the war between the Dakotas and the Chippewas in the north-

eastern part of the state. The Dakotas fought bitterly against the Chippewas who were continually pushing them back. "The Dakotas at last came to the determination of making one concentrated tribal effort to check the farther advance of their invaders and if possible put out forever the fires which the Ojibway had lit on the Upper Mississippi. They called on the different bands of their common tribe living toward the south and west to aid them in their enterprise and a numerous war party is said to have been collected at Leech Lake by the Dakotas to carry out the resolution which they had formed. Instead of concentrating their forces and sweeping the Ojibway villages in detail, they separated into three divisions, with the intention of striking three different sections of the enemy on the same day. One party marched against the village of Sandy Lake, one against the Ojibway at Rainy Lake and one proceeded against a small band of Ojibways who had already reached as far west as Pembina and who in connection with the Kenistenos and Assiniboines severely harassed the northern flank of the Leech Lake Dakotas."¹ In all three expeditions the Dakotas met with disaster, losing many warriors and gaining nothing. This was their last stand. The Chippewas had now destroyed their great enemy, the Dakotas, and were firmly located on the western plains.

¹ Warren, *Minnesota Historical Collections*, St. Paul, 1897, V., 183-4.

They were aggressive and ventured even as far west as Turtle Mountains. After one band had gained possession of this territory, they were not free from war. This was a choice region for all the plains Indians and many other tribes wanted it. There were the Dakota tribes at the south and west and the Assiniboinés and Crees to the north and west. Thus the Turtle Mountain Chippewas maintained constant warfare in defense of their homes. When we understand how hard they had to fight for this region we can perhaps appreciate why they so long resisted the later encroachments of the whites.

The migration of the Chippewas from the woodland of Minnesota and Wisconsin was followed by marked changes in customs. The great cause for this movement was the presence of the buffalo of the plains. In their forest homes the struggle for existence was often very bitter, but on the western plains they found the buffalo, which provided abundant food, and skins for clothing and tent building. The buffalo was the great lure of the western country. Along with this as a contributing cause we might mention the ancient conflict between the Chippewas and Iroquois in the east. The Iroquois were just now pushing down the Ohio valley and driving the Chippewas farther westward.

The Chippewa form of village making changed with the westward movement. In the forest re-

gion the Indians made no attempt at a regular plan of laying out a village. The wigwams were dome shaped and made of birch bark or bull-rush mats. The plains Indians made use of the buffalo skins and their tepees consisted of a buffalo skin stretched over a conical framework of poles. The constant attacks of other tribes forced them to place their tepees in a circle for protection. This circle is commonly known as the "camp circle."² The Indian loves the open air and today, altho they have adopted the white man's custom of building log or frame cabins, yet hardly a home can be found which has not one or more tents beside it and in summer the Indians live almost entirely in the tents. I recall one place where a fine frame house was built, yet the Indians seldom entered it in summer, but lived in a tent outside. Nor have they discarded their custom of the camp fire, for altho they had a stove in the house, just before the tent was a small fire with the kettle hanging over it, in which they were preparing their evening meal.

In modes of travel and transportation also the Indians have changed their customs. In the forest and lake regions they made use of the bark or dugout canoe, the Chippewas were very skillful in the use of this means of travel, but in the plains they had to abandon this form of trans-

² *Cultural Position of Plains Ojibway, American Anthropologist*, XVI., 815.

port. They had no trees from which to make canoes and their mode of hunting had changed. The only water transportation in the west was the raft used exclusively for ferrying. They made use of dogs, which dragged their tents and personal belongings on the travois. Later we find the use of horses for the same purpose, and in the latter part of the nineteenth century the Red River cart, drawn by Indian ponies or oxen, was their chief mode of travel. The Indians used the horse in hunt and travel and still prefer horseback riding to any other means of conveyance. Even yet it is not uncommon to see an Indian riding a pony, with no saddle or bridle, but merely a rope with a loop around the lower jaw of the animal.

The industries of this tribe changed markedly. In the east, where rushes were abundant, weaving was an important industry, while pottery was used very abundantly. The women engaged in gathering wild rice and in making blankets and garments while the men did the fishing and hunting. In the west the absence of weaving is noted both in basket and in garment making. The women confined themselves to the tanning of hides and the growing of small garden stuffs and, in Turtle Mountains, to the picking of berries, while the men engaged in the chase and in warfare.

As these Chippewas moved west their clothing

changed, assuming the characteristics of a military life. In the east they were accustomed to wear the fur fillet headdress and garments of two pieces and for foot gear they wore soft soled moccasins. On the plains they adopted the elaborate headdress of eagle feathers and a decorated shirt with fringes of hair.

The two great activities of the Chippewa warrior were hunting and fighting and these kept him busy the year round. "Nothing is done in summer months in the way of hunting. The small furred animals are changing their pelt, which is out of season. The doe retires with her fawns into the thick woods. It is the general season of reproduction, and the red man for a time intermits his war on the animal creation to resume it against man. As the autumn approaches, he prepares for his fall hunts, by retiring from the outskirts of the settlement and from the open lakes, shores and streams which have been the scenes of his summer festivities, and proceeds, after a short preparatory hunt, to his winter grounds. This round of hunting, festivity and war fills up the year; all the tribes conform in these general customs. There are no war parties raised in winter. This season is exclusively devoted to procuring the means of their subsistence and clothing, by seeking the valuable skins which

are to purchase their clothing and their amunition, traps and arms.”³

Thus the Indians did their fighting when they could not hunt and when natural conditions aided them in their mode of warfare. “It is the custom of these tribes to go to war in the spring and summer, which are not only comparatively seasons of leisure with them, but it is at these seasons that they are concealed and protected by the foliage of the forest and can approach the enemy unseen. At these annual returns of warmth and vegetation, they also engage in festivities and dances, during which the events and exploits of the past years are sung and recited, while they derive fresh courage and stimulus to renewed exertion. The young, who are listeners, learn to emulate their fathers and take their earliest lessons in the art of war.”⁴ The mode of warfare was much the same as that of other Indian tribes. Before they left on a warring expedition, they would hold a dance; painting their faces and bodies in all the bright colors, they would dance around a fire, giving war cries, while the old men would beat upon drums and join in the war cries. In this way they would work up their courage or their thirst for war. We still have a remnant of this custom in the Turtle Mountains, altho it has degenerated into a means

³ Warren, *Minnesota Historical Collections*, V., 251.

⁴ *Ib.*, V., 251.

of making money. The Indians sometimes put on the warpaint, all the ornaments they can collect and give a demonstration of this primitive war dance or "powwow." They go thru all the dances and cries as tho preparing for a great battle with some neighboring tribe.

Along with the changes in customs and in the modes of hunting and warfare, their religion suffered a serious change. If there was anything characteristic of the early Chippewa, it was the religious rites of the "Medawewin" or "Grand Medicine Society." But mixing with the plains Indians they lost this religious rite and adopted the plains "Sun Dance."

When the early Christian missionaries first ventured west into the territory occupied by the Chippewas they found there the great society of the Mide. This society was a very well organized institution and offered bitter resistance to the introduction of Christianity. The purpose of the society was two-fold; first, to preserve the traditions of the Indians, and, second, to give a certain class of ambitious men a chance to gain a luxurious living at the expense of the other members of the tribe. Death, after a long torture, was the punishment for any member who gave away any of the secrets of the order. This is why so little is known of their traditions. The forms and ceremonies are quite well known, but no white man was ever able to become a member and learn

the secrets. They have, however, been permitted to see the ceremonies. The society consists of four distinct parts or degrees. When a candidate wishes to become a member of the Mide, he must go thru a long period of preparation. He must fast for a long period and during this he is supposed to have dreams. He must make very liberal gifts to the Mide priests. The initiation into the first degrees consists mainly in chanting prayers and offering gifts. In the second degree he is given supernatural power, he can take on the form of an animal, strike his enemies and resume the form of a man again. The second degree Mide may become a third degree member in much the same manner, giving gifts and chanting prayers. When the candidate has reached the third degree he is possessed of great powers and courage. He is an important member and can do miraculous deeds. The fourth degree is the hardest to attain, there being many obstacles to overcome, and it requires a greater number of feasts than before. The candidate is here possessed of magic power and can call up the dead or read another's mind. The Midewewan inspired fear and yet was a constant comfort to the early Chippewa. They obeyed the priests and offered the richest of their possessions in fear of the terrible consequences of disobedience. They went to them in times of trouble, laying before them their troubles and receiving comfort in their mis-

fortunes or forgiveness for their wrongdoings. This society was the very heart of the Chippewa religion in the region of Minnesota and Wisconsin.⁵

The plains Indians had a very different form of worship, the usual ceremony being the Sun Dance. This form of religion took the place of the Mide rites with the plains Chippewas. Just how the change occurred is not known, but it probably came thru a gradual adoption of certain parts of the plains ceremony. The practice of torturing themselves was one of the customs they adopted from the western Indians; this was done as a part of the Sun Dance. The Indians were accustomed to cut their bodies, pass cords through their muscles and then hang suspended until the cords were torn out of the flesh. This they continued to do until recent years. In 1887 the last torture dance occurred at the Turtle Mountains; at that time the government interfered and forbade the Indians torturing themselves. That the practice was common will be seen from the fact that there is hardly an old Indian in the Turtle Mountain region who has not the marks of the torture dance on his body. When the Indians stopped the torture element they continued to Sun Dance. The ceremony of this I shall try to relate as I witnessed it on the Turtle Mountains.

⁵ This description is taken from the *7th Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1885-6, p. 1494.

The Indians meet before the beginning of the dance and erect a temporary structure. It is round in shape with a pointed roof, the whole structure is made of poles and the branches of trees. In the center is a large post which extends from the ground thru the roof. On the top of this post is a large mass of twisted willows, known as "the nest of the thunder bird." The lightning, they believe, is the flash of the eye of this bird while the thunder is the rustle of its wings. They offer their prayers to the thunder bird, which in turn carries these prayers to the holy spirit. All around the walls on the interior are small stalls or apartments about six feet square and four feet high. During the dance there is one dancer in each division. In the center is a group of men seated around a drum which they all beat while uttering a peculiarly plaintive chant. They alternate beating for a minute or so and then rest for a similar length of time; during the beating of the drum the dancers, which may be either men or women, take part in the dance. The dance consists of a bobbing up and down by bending and straightening the knees. Each dancer holds an eagle bone whistle in his mouth which he blows all the time he is dancing. They keep their eyes fixed firmly on the post in the center which is holding the nest. This dance last for three days and three nights, during which they neither eat, drink or sleep. It is a tremendous test of strength

and many are unable to bear it. At the conclusion of the dance, they have a great feast. A dog is dressed and boiled whole in a large iron kettle. This kettle of soup is brought in and placed in the center. Then all gather around and eat and drink until they are satisfied. When the dance is done they break camp and go to their respective homes.

These changes in customs and religion as I have tried to picture them form only a bare outline of an important chapter in Indian history. It is our privilege to witness the complete passing away of this tribe of Indians, for in another generation there will be practically no full bloods left. "As they stand today, they present a perhaps unparalleled example of mixed culture, almost half and half. Had not their development been arrested by the influx of the white settlers and the annihilation of the buffalo, their further progress would have been an interesting problem, the solution of which is probably to be traced by successive steps thru the Plains Cree and Blackfoot."⁶

The Chippewa and the Buffalo

No Chippewa history is complete without a chapter on the buffalo, for around this animal centered their whole life. It was from the buffalo that they secured the hides for their tents and clothing, and his flesh served as their chief source

⁶ *Cultural Position of the Plains Ojibway, American Anthropologist*, XVI., 318.

of food. The fact that the buffalo, thru strenuous efforts of the Indians, was saved for so long a time from extinction in the region of the Turtle Mountains, makes this chapter of special significance in the history of this tribe.

The territory once inhabited by the buffalo reached from the Alleghanies on the east to and including part of the Rocky Mountains on the west. In eastern United States the northern boundary was the Great Lakes, and the southern boundary was the Gulf of Mexico. In the west the territory reached from Mexico on the south far into Canada, to Great Slave Lake, 6. ° N. Latitude on the north. In 1870 there existed two great herds, one in southern United States just east of the Rocky Mountains, the other east of the Rocky Mountains in northern United States and southern Canada. In 1880 the only place where the buffalo still roved was in western Dakota, the greater part of Montana and northern Wyoming.⁷ So we see that the Turtle Mountains belong to that region where could be found the last herd of American bison. The last great buffalo hunts were conducted in the region of the Turtle Mountains.

The size of the herds which ranged over this region is almost beyond comprehension. We may gain some idea of these herds from the account in the Lewis and Clark Journal. "These last animals (buffaloes) are now so numerous

⁷ Map by Hornaday, illustrating his *Extinction of the American Bison*.

that from an eminence we discovered more than we had ever seen before at one time; and if it be not impossible to calculate the moving multitude, which darkened the whole plains, we are convinced that twenty thousand would be no exaggerated number.”⁸ They record: “The buffalo now appear in vast numbers. A herd happened to be on their way across the river (the Missouri). Such was the multitude of these animals that although the river, including an island over which they passed, was a mile in length, the herd stretched as thick as they could swim completely from one side to the other, and the party was obliged to stop for an hour. They consoled themselves for the delay by killing four of the herd, and they proceeded till at the distance of 45 miles they halted on an island, below which two other herds of buffalo, as numerous as the first, soon after crossed the river.”⁹

So enormous were the herds of buffalo that it was thought by both Indian and white man that the supply was inexhaustible, yet within a period of but four years the southern herd was almost entirely exterminated and the northern herd reduced to a comparatively small number.

The methods of slaughter is indeed a subject of much interest. There were four chief means

⁸ *The Lewis and Clark Expedition, Chicago, 1903, II., 446.*

⁹ *Ib., II., 418.*

of hunting the buffalo besides numerous minor methods.

The most common method of hunt was the chase on horseback. This was the means most employed by the Red River half-breeds in their hunting expeditions west into the Turtle Mountain region. It was the most exciting and most dangerous form of hunt, also a very destructive one. This method of attack is described by William T. Hornaday—"Whenever the hunters discovered a herd of buffalo, they usually got to leeward of it and quietly rode forward in a body, or stretched out in a regular skirmish line, behind the shelter of a knoll, perhaps, until they approached the herd as closely as could be done without alarming it. Usually the unsuspecting animals with a confidence due more to their numbers than anything else, would allow a party of horsemen to approach within from 200 to 400 yards of their flankers, and then they would start off on a slow trot. The hunters then put spurs to their horses and dashed forward to overtake the herd as quickly as possible. Once upon it, each hunter chooses the best animal within his reach, chases him until his flying steed carries him close alongside, and then the arrow or the bullet is sent into his vitals. The fatal spot is from 12 to 18 inches in circumference, and lies immediately back of the fore leg, with its lowest point on a line with the elbow. This, the true chase of the buffa-

lo, was not only exciting but dangerous. It often happened that the hunter found himself surrounded by the flying herd, and in a cloud of dust, so that neither man nor horse could see the ground before them. Under such circumstances fatal accidents to both men and horses were numerous. It was not an uncommon thing for half-breeds to shoot each other in the excitement of the chase; and while now and then a wounded bull suddenly turned upon his pursuer and overthrew him, the greatest number of casualties were from falls."¹⁰ Every year great hunting parties of half-breeds went west from the Red River and the enormous number of buffaloes killed show definitely the skill which they developed in hunting by the chase, for this was their chief method. Some idea of the size of these parties can be gained from the account of Father Belcourt who accompanied the Red River half-breeds on one of these expeditions. Altho this is a small party, compared to many, it contained 213 carts, 55 hunters and their families, making 60 lodges in all. This party killed 1,776 cows, bulls were not counted, although many were killed, which yielded 228 bags of pemmican, 1,213 bales of dried meat, 166 sacs of tallow and 556 bladders full of marrow. This would average 33 buffalo to each family. The account of Rev. Bel-

¹⁰ Hornaday, *Extirpation of the American Bison*, Washington, 1887, 471.

court is given in full in the appendix as it gives a rather complete idea of one of these hunting expeditions.¹¹

Another method of slaughtering the buffalo was to drive them into a large pen or corral. This method was used most extensively by the Plains Cree but to some extent by the Assiniboine and Blackfeet. This method of killing buffalo is well described by Professor Hind who was an eye witness of such a practice at Qu' Appelle in 1858. A corral was constructed, some 120 feet in diameter, from the stumps of trees laced together with green withes and braced on the outside with props. Leading from the gate were two diverging lines, designated as "dead men" to guide the buffalo into the pen. "When the skilled hunters are about to bring in a herd of buffalo from the prairie, they direct the course of the gallop of the alarmed animals by confederates stationed in hollows or small depressions, who, when the buffalo appear inclined to take a direction leading from the space marked out by the 'dead men,' show themselves for a moment and wave their robes, immediately hiding again. This serves to turn the buffalo slightly in another direction, and when the animals, having arrived between the rows of 'dead men,' endeavor to pass through them, Indians stationed here and there behind a 'dead man' go through the same operation, and

¹¹ See *Appendix No. 4*, p. 136.

thus keep the animals within the narrowing limits of the converging lines. At the entrance to the pound there is a strong trunk of a tree placed about a foot from the ground, and on the inner side an excavation is made sufficiently deep to prevent the buffalo from leaping back when once in the pound. As soon as the animals have taken the fatal spring, they begin to gallop round and round the ring fence, looking for a chance to escape, but with the utmost silence women and children on the outside hold their robes before every orifice until the whole herd is brought in; then they climb to the top of the fence, and, with the hunters who have followed closely in the rear of the buffalo, spear or shoot with bows and arrows or firearms at the bewildered animals, rapidly becoming frantic with rage and terror, within the narrow limits of the pound.

“A dreadful scene of confusion and slaughter then begins; the oldest and strongest animals crush and toss the weaker; the shouts and screams of the excited Indians rise above the roaring of the bulls, the bellowing of the cows, and the piteous moaning of the calves. The dying struggles of so many huge and powerful animals crowded together create a revolting and terrible scene, dreadful from the excess of its cruelty and waste of life, but with occasional displays of wonderful brute strength and rage; while man in his savage, untutored, and heathen state shows both in deed

and expression how little he is superior to the noble beasts he so wantonly and cruelly destroys.”¹²

The systematic destruction of the buffalo herds brought inconceivable suffering upon the Indian tribes whose existence depended almost entirely upon this animal. The Indians reacted very bitterly against this practice as seen by the following speech delivered by Way-shaw-wush-koquenabe (the Green Setting Feather), chief of the Chippewa Indians of the Turtle Mountains, at St. Joseph, Sept. 14, 1852.

“In time past, whenever I looked over my hunting-ground, I ever found a plenty with what to fill my dish, and plenty to give my children; but of late it is not so. I find that my provision bag is fast emptying—my dish is now often empty; and what is the cause of this? Why was it not so in former times, when there were more Indians on the plains than there are now? The reason I find is this: it is none other but the children I once raised, that once proceeded from my own loins, that were once fed from my own hands, which child is the half-breed.

“The manner of his hunt is such as not only to kill, but also to drive away the few he leaves, and waste even those he kills. I also find that same

¹² Hind, *The North West Territory: Reports of Progress together with a Preliminary and General Report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition*, Toronto, 1859, p. 358.

This description is in most respects the counterpart of what was given me by an old Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Offers-the-Pipe. [Ed.]

child, in the stead of being a help to me, his parent, is the very one to pillage from me the very dish out of which I fed and raised him when a little child; and now having gained strength and grown to manhood, has become master of my own dish, and leaves me with the wolves and little animals to follow his trail and pick off the bones of his leaving; and if I wish to help myself out of my own food-bag, his hand and his whip is raised on me, his parent. When I look at all this, my heart is pained within me. I now see my provisions all wasted. I am led to think that it is my Creator that puts it in my heart no more to allow this waste of the animals he has given me; therefore look to him as my father to help me to remove those that are eating up and pillaging my food from me. I have no bad feeling, and do not wish to use my strength. Why should I make use of my strength? It is my food I am looking at; I only wish to be master, and do as I please with what is my own. I now say, I hold back, and love all of the Turtle Mountains.

“From it the half-breeds must keep, and stop on the place their father gave them at Pembina. We now look at our lands and what our Great Father said to us—‘Keep, my children, the lands of hunt for your own selves, and let not your half-breeds take them. Keep them for your own selves—let them dwell among the timbers of the Pembina.’ Now whatever half-breed goes

against this, shall pay as a fine, a horse; and a half-breed having an Indian mother full-blooded, wishing to spend the winter with us, may come, but he shall not be allowed to hunt only where we shall tell him, and not to kill more animals than we shall tell him; and shall no more be master of my hunting-grounds. Also for our traders, we do not keep back those who may come; but they also must obey our law, not to kill animals or hunt furs, only as we shall tell them. The hunting road which was first pointed out for the half-breeds was from this place straight to Devils Lake and southward and we reserved and do still reserve all north of this line for our own use; but they have of late made another road for hunting towards the Turtle Mountain without our consent, which we cannot longer allow. We now close by saying we wish it to be as our Father told us—for the half-breeds to go to get meat from the plains only once a summer, and for them to stay at Pembina to take care of the preacher, and we will take care of our own selves; for as for me, I do not ever intend to give my hand to the swine, let me see him where I will. From us, your friends the Chippewa of Turtle Mountains and elsewhere, to all the half-breeds of Pembina.”¹³

This speech is given in full not merely as a specimen of Indian oratory but because it shows

¹³ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1854*, p. 190.

the real seriousness of the extermination of the buffalo. But in spite of all their efforts the buffalo had to go and it left the Indians in sore distress, thrown upon the mercy of the white men, and caused him to abandon his former habits and customs of home life and become no longer the active Chippewa in his native state, but the degenerate type we now find on our reservations.

Land Treaties and Agreements

As shown in the previous chapter the Turtle Mountain band of Chippewas separated from the Pembinas rather late in their history, so that much of their early history is connected with that of the Pembina, Red Lake and White Earth bands. By federal statute, approved March 2, 1861, providing for the creation of the territory of Dakota, a clause was inserted in those laws which excluded from settlement all land held by the Indians. This clause provided also that "nothing in this act shall be construed to impair the rights of persons or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or to include any territory which by treaty with any Indian tribe, is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or territory; but all such territory shall be exempted out of the boun-

daries and constitute no part of the territory of Dakota, until said tribe shall signify their assent to the President of the United States to be included within said territory or to affect the authority of the government of the United States to make any regulations respecting such Indians, their lands, property or other rights, by treaty, law or otherwise, which would have been competent for the government to make if this act had never passed.”¹⁴ It is apparent by this law that the government could not take any land within the territory without the consent of the Indians. On October 2, 1863, the Red Lake and Pembina Chippewas ceded all the land they held in Dakota to the government. This included a strip of land in the northeastern part of the state bounded on the south and west by the Sheyenne River in its lower course and its western boundary being continued by a line drawn from a bend in the Sheyenne River northward thru Stump Lake to the international boundary. The Turtle Mountain band was formerly a part of this group, but they claimed the Turtle Mountains, saying that they had held this land previous to the cession of 1863. They claimed not only the land in the Turtle Mountains but also part of the adjacent territory as far south as Devils Lake; their claim also included an indefinite tract to the eastward.

¹⁴ Act to Provide for Temporary Government for Territory of Dakota, Sec. 1, p. 27, Yankton, Dak. Terr., 1862-3.

In the reports of the Chippewa agency at White Earth, Minnesota, for 1871 and the following few years, we find urgent requests that this claim be recognized and the Federal Government, in accordance with the common Indian policy, recognized this claim. However, on October 4, 1882, the Indian department at Washington directed the General Land Office to take the necessary steps to revoke this action and to restore these lands to the public domain, subject to the restriction, however, that if there were any Indians who had attempted to make permanent settlement or had made any improvements, their lands would be protected from white settlement until they could secure the title thereto. By this action a tract of land estimated to contain nine million acres was thrown open for settlement by the whites. As a consequence of this action of the United States Government, the Indians took steps to secure their rights. This tribe sent a delegation of Indians to Washington to protest against this action and to secure the establishment of a reservation for the Turtle Mountain Indians. In recognition of their claim the government established a reservation embracing an area of about thirty-two miles from north to south and about twenty-four miles from east to west.¹⁵

¹⁵ Executive Order, December 21, 1882.

President sets apart reserve for Turtle Mt. Band of Chippewas bounded as follows: Beginning at a point on the international boundary where the 10th guide meridian west of the 5th principal meridian (being the range line between ranges 73 and 74 west of the 5th principal meridian), will when

This tract of land would cover the same territory that Rolette County now occupies with the exception of the eastern tier of townships. On March 1, 1883, Congress appropriated the sum of ten thousand dollars for the purpose of aiding these Indians to make a permanent settlement upon lands improved by individual Indians or upon lands to be allotted to them.

In fulfillment of a promise made to the delegation of Indians who visited Washington, special agent Cyrus Beede made a visit to the Turtle Mountains, under special instructions from the Department of Indian Affairs. He found the full bloods of the band, numbering, as he believed, not over twenty-five families, unprepared and altogether disinclined to take lands in severalty and preferring a small permanent reservation. He found many of the half-breeds living off the reservation and to the east of it, but also many of them making good progress in opening farms, building houses and in many cases quite well-to-do. In accordance with his recommendation, the Indian Department on March 29, 1884, re-

extended intersect said international boundary; thence south on the 10th guide meridian to the S. E. Corner of T. 161 N., R. 74 W.; thence E. on the 15th standard parallel N. to the N. E. corner of T. 160 N., R. 74 W.; thence S. on the 10th guide meridian W. to the S. E. corner of T. 159 N., R. 74 W.; thence E. on the line between Ts. 158 and 159 N. to the S. E. corner of T. 159 N., R. 70 W.; thence N. with the line between ranges 69 and 70 W. to the N. E. corner of T. 160 N., R. 70 W.; thence W. on the 15th standard parallel N. to S. E. corner of T. 161 N., R. 70 W.; thence N. on the line between ranges 69 and 70 W. to the international boundary; thence W. on the international boundary to place of beginning. *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1899, Pt. 2, p. 908.*

stored to public domain the reservation established by executive order December 21, 1882, except townships 162 and 163 North, Range 71 West.¹⁶ Now this last established reservation gave the Indians one township entirely in the mountains and the other partly so and thus the Indians had very little chance to develop along the lines of agriculture, while the townships east of 162 North, Range 71 West were almost entirely on the prairie and contained much fine land. The attention of the department was called to this unwise choice they had made; the Executive order of March 29, 1884, substituted township 162 North, Range 70 West for township 163 North, 71 West, which last mentioned township was restored to the mass of public domain.¹⁷

¹⁶ Executive Order, March 29, 1884.

President restores to public domain part of reserve established by Executive order, December 21, 1882, as follows: The tract of country in the territory of Dakota set apart for the use and occupancy of the Turtle Mountain band of Chippewa Indians by Executive order dated December 21, 1882, except Ts. 162 and 163 N., R. 71 W. President withholds as future reserve for Turtle Mountain Chippewas Ts. 162 and 163 N., R. 71 W. *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Pt. 2, p. 916.

¹⁷ Executive Order, June 3, 1884.

The Executive order dated March 29, 1884, whereby certain lands in the Territory of Dakota previously set apart for the use and occupancy of the Turtle Mountain band of Chippewa Indians were, with the exception of townships 162 and 163 North, Range 71 West, restored to the mass of the public domain, is hereby amended so as to substitute township 162 N., R. 70 W., for township 163 N., R. 71 W., the purpose and effect of such amendment being to withdraw from sale and settlement and set apart for the use and occupancy of said Indians said township 162 N., R. 70 W., in lieu of T. 163 N., R. 71 W., which last mentioned township is thereby restored to the mass of the public domain. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., Sen. Doc. 319, Washington, 1904, I., 885.

I., 885.

Royce in his report of Indian treaties in the Report of the Bureau of Ethnology misquotes this treaty and gives townships 162 North., Range 70 West and 163 North, Range 71 West, instead of townships 162 North, Range

This was the last step in the establishment of the permanent reservation for the Turtle Mountain Indians and they have held this last established reservation embracing townships 162 North, Range 70 and 71 West, ever since.

Education

Before proceeding to the facts regarding the establishment of the present educational system, permit me to pay a little tribute to the work of some of the men who have had so much to do with the Christianizing and education of the Turtle Mountain Indians. The Indians themselves proudly speak of the work of Reverend Wellington Salt among them. Rev. Salt was educated in Ontario and in 1887 came to Minnesota, where he worked in the lumber camps of northern Minnesota. Bishop Walker, of the Episcopal Church heard of Rev. Salt and invited him to come to Fargo, which he did. The Bishop met him there and asked him if he would go to the Turtle Mountains and help ameliorate the conditions of this suffering people. Rev. Salt agreed and went to Belcourt, May 2, 1898; from that time until the present, with the exception of two years (1900-1902) when he was transferred to Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, because

70 and 71 West. His accompanying map is also incorrect and does not show the true reservation. *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Pt. 2, p. 916.

of small pox among the Indians, Rev. Salt has lived in the region of the Turtle Mountains. No other man has done so much toward developing among them the proper habits of living and industry. One well-to-do farmer said, "All that I have, I owe to Mr. Salt. He taught me how to work and save." Almost every Indian uprising which occurred in this region after Rev. Salt's arrival was stopped and peace restored thru his efforts. This will be brought out in the following chapter.

The work of the Catholic priests, Rev. J. F. Malo and Rev. G. A. Belcourt, was also of paramount importance. They came to the Turtle Mountain region when there was no white settlement, when the Indians were living in their native state, and brought to them the message of Christianity.

Rev. J. F. Malo opened the first school in this region in 1882. The attendance was small, averaging about forty children, and equipment was lacking. Yet this was the beginning of the educational system of the present reservation.

In 1884 the St. Mary's boarding-school was erected. This was made possible by the donation of the Misses Drexel of Philadelphia. The gift was supplemented by a further contribution of \$9,000 toward food, clothing and furniture for the school.

The number enrolled during 1888 was 189, 116 girls and 73 boys. The aim of the school is to give the Indians an English education and to teach them the industries most useful to them afterward.¹⁸

In 1888 Bishop Walker erected a building for a school and church and Rev. Wellington Salt was employed as teacher.

At this time there were here three Government schools with a capacity of fifty children each; one Episcopal school of the same capacity, and the St. Mary's Industrial Boarding School, principally for girls but some very young boys were admitted.

The average attendance was: 15 for District School No. I; 32 for District School No. II; 17 for District School No. III; 17 for the Episcopal School; and 137 for St. Mary's School. The St. Mary's Industrial School burned in 1900 and has never been rebuilt.

At present the Government maintains five day schools, compulsory attendance is enforced and very competent teachers are employed. When the children finish the common school, they are sent to Fort Totten for their secondary education.

The Government pays special attention to the education of the Indians, and rightly so, for here-

¹⁸ *Fifty-seventh Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Washington, 1888, II., 40.*

in lies the true method of teaching thrift and good citizenship to these people.

Indian Troubles

The period just prior to the coming of the white men to the Turtle Mountain country was one of hardship for the Indians. The buffalo, which was their chief source of food, was fast becoming extinct; the white men who came west in hunting parties were killing many thousands every year. An early settler in describing one of these hunts said he saw such a party in the mountains soon after he came to Dakota. The party had about fifty Red River carts, and thousands of buffalo skins, the choicest of which could at that time be secured for four or five dollars, now a single hide is worth several hundred. This party camped at the edge of the Turtle Mountains on the first of July, 1882. When the buffalo and other animals were being killed off so fast, the Indians were left in sore distress and there was at certain seasons of the year much suffering. As early as 1870 we read in the reports for Chippewa Agency, Minnesota, urgent requests that the Turtle Mountain Indians be transported to Minnesota to be cared for with the other Chippewas. In spite of their miserable condition they resented very strongly the encroachment of the whites and made strenuous protests against white settlement.

On June 25, 1882, a party of prospective settlers crossed the boundary line from Canada and camped about two miles south of the international boundary north of the present town of St. John, North Dakota. This party of men after wandering over the whole country around the mountains settled on a piece of territory east of the mountains and north of the present town of Rolla, North Dakota. Cashpaw was the chief of the Indians and was quite friendly to the white men, but just about this time or on Saturday, July 11, 1882, Little Shell, an Indian Chief from Wood Mountain, Manitoba, arrived. He called a meeting of the Indians just south of the boundary line at St. John on Sunday, July 12, 1882, and here told the Indians that the land belonged to them, and that the white men were taking it from them. The Indians decided that the white men should not be allowed to stay. On Monday morning, July 13, about two hundred Indians, led by Little Shell, rode down and informed the settlers that they must move; some of these Indians had Red River carts and some were on horseback. They talked the matter over, thru interpreters who belonged to the band, and told the settlers the land was all theirs as far as Devils Lake and that they must move. The settlers decided that the best thing to do was to move, so they went north and camped on the Canadian side of the line. Two of the party were citizens

of the United States; these men wrote out a petition and sent it to Washington on July 15, 1882, asking for protection from the Indians. They did not get any reply until August 30, 1882, when Major Conrad of Fort Totten came up with forty or fifty soldiers.¹⁹ He rode up to Little Shell and told him that he would kill him if he attempted any injury to the white men. He then rode on and informed the whites what had been done, and they came back on September 3, 1882. With the exception of small personal troubles the Indians offered no positive resistance to white settlement afterward.

The next trouble was in 1889, with the Indians north of the town of Dunseith. It seems that the government had given the Indians some cattle; the Indians merely held the cattle and did not own them. The county officers tried to collect taxes on these cattle and when the Indians refused to pay they took several head of cattle from them. This aroused hostilities with the Indians, who refused to turn over any more of the cattle. The sheriff, Thomas Flynn, then requested aid from Major McKee, in charge of Troop A, 1st Battalion, N. D. National Guards. The major on his own responsibility ordered the troop to report at the armory in Dunseith in January, 1889. The troop reported as ordered and after one night's stay in the armory at Dunseith, start-

¹⁹ Seventeenth Infantry with Troop I, 7th Cavalry.

ed after breakfast toward the mountains. They had not gone far when they met E. W. Brenner, farmer in charge of the Turtle Mountain Indians and Wellington Salt, teacher of the Episcopal School at Belcourt. In his account of the affair, Mr. Salt says: "We had a telegram from Governor John Miller, calling back the troop. The prompt action of the governor and Indian agent saved the lives of the members of Troop A, as each man had been picked out as a target by some one of the rebels. The main body of half-breeds were hidden in a log house where they had every advantage and could watch the approach of the soldiers and were ready to fire as soon as they came within range." The soldiers would have passed thru a ravine and the hills on both sides were full of half-breeds. "I happened to sleep in Mr. Brenner's office that cold night. It was about midnight when the message reached us, a half-breed brought it from St. John. Mr. Brenner and I drove to Dunseith, then with Major McKee we went to Mr. Lambert's house and had a conference with the half-breeds. I did the interpreting for the parties. There were no full bloods among the rebels and only one Episcopalian half-breed, Peter Cadotte. Peter told me, the following Sunday after service, about their plan of picking their men, so the fate of each soldier would have been almost certain death. The militia were to have been attacked

in front as well as in the rear. It would have been a repetition of the Custer Massacre. If I had not slept at Mr. Brenner's that night, the governor's message would not have reached Dunseith, as Mr. Brenner was not in a condition to realize the seriousness of the situation." This was a narrow escape for the soldiers; had it not been for the work of Mr. Salt, these fifty soldiers would have gone to certain death. In this affair the Indians or half-breeds were not in the wrong. It was the rashness of the county officers.

The only time that the white men and Indians really came to blows was in Rolla on July 4, 1889. The trouble arose thru an attempt of the Indians to get liquor, which the white men would not let them have. During this dispute an Indian attempted to force his way into the hotel and was knocked down by a white man. The Indian sprang to his feet, gave a war cry and the Indians came running from all directions. The white men, too, ran to the scene and soon the whole crowd was engaged in a hand to hand encounter, fighting with clubs, bats, wagon spokes or anything they could get hold of. Blood flowed freely and several were wounded. During the fight a man named Harry McDonald took up a plow coulter and struck an Indian over the face, splitting his head open. The Indians carried the wounded man away and he was never seen again, but he unquestionably died soon after. This is

the only record we have of a loss of life because of trouble with the Indians. When this Indian was wounded the others ran to their horses and left saying they would be back; the white men stayed up all night waiting for them, but they never came to get their revenge.

The insurrection of 1891 near St. John, North Dakota, was the last time the Indians ever seriously threatened the whites. The trouble again arose out of the refusal of the Indians to pay taxes. A poll tax had been levied by the county officials and the customs officer, Thomas Hesketh, Sr., tried to collect the taxes. The Indians thereupon rose in rebellion. The night before the outbreak, the two principal stores in St. John were broken into by the Indians and all the guns and ammunition taken. The Indians, who were under the leadership of Red Thunder, then fortified themselves in an old log house about three-quarters of a mile east of St. John and prepared to resist the whites. The white men from the country around gathered and entrenched themselves around the house. The Indians seeing the number of white men, many of whom were soldiers, decided to surrender to the authority of the government. Altho nothing came of this affair, it was perhaps the most serious threat the Indians had made, because it was at this time that the Indians were causing so much trouble in Canada. The United States Government, realiz-

ing this situation, sent soldiers who patrolled the boundary every day for several months after this threatened rebellion. The purpose of the army was to keep the Indians of Canada from joining those of the United States. With this insurrection the Indian troubles ended in the region of the Turtle Mountains.

APPENDIX**NO. 1****Sketch of the Indian Trouble in Turtle Mountains During January, 1889**

This trouble was caused by the Rolette county officers trying to compel the Indians and half-breeds to pay taxes on cattle issued to them by the government, but not the property of the Indians. After several cattle had been taken from them by the sheriff, they rebelled and would not give up any more; they also ordered the sheriff to leave them alone. Sheriff Flynn then made a request to Maj. McKee of Dunseith, for the National Guards to aid him. The Major ordered Troop A to report at the armory at Dunseith, N. D., in Jan., 1889. The Major had not received an order from the governor to do this but simply took it on himself. This meant ordering out about 50 men against seven or eight hundred half-breeds, who were fairly well equipped to fight. The half-breeds did not want to fight unless forced to.

The troop spent one night in the armory and then after breakfast next morning started to march up to the hills north of Dunseith where the rebels were waiting. On the way they met E. W. Brenner, farmer in charge of the Turtle Mountain Indians, and myself. I was then in charge of the Episcopal School at Belcourt. We had a telegram from Governor John Miller, call-

ing back the troop. The prompt action of the governor and the Indian agent saved the lives of the members of Troop A, as each man had been chosen as a target by some one of the rebels. The main body of half-breeds was hidden in a log house where they had every advantage and could watch the approach of the soldiers and were ready to fire as soon as they came within range. The soldiers had to pass through a ravine and the hills on both sides were full of half-breeds. The trouble was not brought on by the Indians.

I happened to sleep in Mr. Brenner's office as the night was cold. It was midnight when the message reached us. It was brought by a half-breed from St. John. Brenner and I immediately drove to Dunseith, and then with Major McKee we went up to Mr. Lambert's house in the hills and had a conference with the half-breeds. I did the interpreting for the parties. There were no full bloods among the party and only one Episcopalian half-breed, Peter Cadotte. After the affair was settled, Cadotte told me the following Sunday after service something further of the half-breed plans. It seems that they proposed to assign a given number of good shots to each soldier, so the fate of the soldiers would have been almost certain death. The militia were to have been attacked in front as well as in the rear and it would have been a repetition of the Custer Massacre. If I had not slept at E. W. Brenner's

that night, the Governor's message would not have reached Dunseith in time, as Brenner was not in a condition to realize the seriousness of the situation. I am enclosing an account of the affair by J. J. Jollie of Belcourt. He knew of the affair as well as any of the old settlers in the county.

Wellington Salt.

NO. 2

Acknowledging receipt of your favor of the 8th, I will state that the number of half-breeds belonging to the Turtle Mountain band of Chippewa Indians living on or near this reservation is, according to our census of June 30, 1905, about 1,996, of whom 1,042 are males, and 954 are females, and as approximately 95% of these are occupants of Rolette County, you can estimate about the approximate number within the county. The towns^{ships} immediately adjoining this reservation, have as a rule about one-fifth of their population composed of the Turtle Mountain Chippewas, with the exception of T. 162 N., R. 69 W., and T. 163 N., R. 70 W., which contain the towns of Rolla and St. Johns, respectively, where the half-breed population would be materially decreased. With regard to the full-blood Chippewas there are according to the census above referred to, 211 of which 108 are males and 103 are females, of whom about 40% live upon this reservation, the remainder living in T. 162-3 N., R. 72-3 W.

I have recently compiled a report upon the vital statistics of the band since June 30, 1905, to February 6, 1906, and find that there has been 53 births reported to this office, of whom 32 were males, and 21 were females, while the deaths of all ages reported was 22, including 10 males and 12 females, so you can see that our Indians are not on the decrease. Of course you will understand the above applies both to the full-bloods as well as the mixed-bloods, as I have not differentiated between them in the report, although as my memory recalls I am sure the percentage of births to deaths is rather in favor of the full-bloods as against these of mixed blood parentage. . . .

I find that there is a strong undercurrent of their ancient superstitions still prevalent amongst the full-bloods, so much so that I found it hard to find a man to act as policeman amongst them, until, inadvertently, I secured the services of Napasis, who is one of the eight medicine men amongst the Chippewas, and to whom I am indebted for the explanation and drawings of a great deal of the ancient customs and superstitions prevalent amongst these people, of which I hope to show you when next you visit me at this reservation. The writing used among these Indians is the old Cree writing, which was introduced amongst them by some old Priest, according to report or legend, but the medicine men, in

addition to the above, use an ancient pictorial writing, of which I have some very good specimens, consisting of the songs of the medicine men. The reason of my difficulty in securing a policeman among the full-bloods is that they are afraid that in discharging the duties incumbent upon a policeman they might incur the displeasure of someone amongst them who would work bad medicine upon them, of which there are various superstitions prevalent, one of which is that the injured man can put something in the food of the party whom he wishes to injure, and that it will cause the mouth of the victim to draw around on one side so that it is almost impossible to talk or eat.

A child who is born amongst the full-blood Chippewas is not named for some time, generally about six months to a year after birth, depending upon the financial condition of the father, or until he is able to make a feast for the old men of the tribe which lasts three days. Upon the third day one of the old men is selected with due ceremony to be the one to name the child, whereupon, after eating all that he can, he retires for sleep, when Na-na-push, a Chippewa deity, will appear to him in some shape which it is the desire of the deity that the child shall be named, and if the dream is a particularly hard one a council of the others is held and the proper interpretation made as to what was meant by the dream.

After that has been decided upon the child is called by that name by the old Indian who had the dream, which ever after is the name of the child. . . .

When any one of the tribe dies it is customary to bury him in a sitting posture with his feet to the north and his face turned around toward the south over his right shoulder, the grave being dug about four feet deep and then covered at the surface of the ground by placing poles across the grave with canvass or bark and then covered with earth. After this there is an old woman hired to visit the grave continually for three days to keep a small fire burning so that the dead person may have a place to make his tea and rest from his journey, as they claim it takes three days to complete the journey to their heaven, which is very like the Happy Hunting Ground of other Indians. The custom prevails that when one has died the hair is cut from the head and must be carried by the nearest relative on their body for a full year after which it is taken into the woods, tied up in a bundle and placed in a tree. When found by a friend or relative, something, no matter how small or insignificant, must be placed in the tree as a token of remembrance. At the end of the second year the relative goes to this tree and collects all these tokens and takes them to the grave of the departed and places them in a sack and hangs them on a stick at the grave, when the ceremony is completed.¹

²⁰ From a personal letter of Feb. 12, 1906, written from the Turtle Mountain Reservation by E. E. Jones, Farmer in Charge. [Ed.]

NO. 3

**Story of the Battle Between the Mandans and
Chippewas at Pembina in 1840**

Told by James James (Man-standing-
still-on-the-sky)

About 1840, a band of the Chippewas was camping on the Red River about a mile and a half north of the present city of Pembina on the west side of the Red. The war chief of the band was Red Bear.

A party of Mandans, who were out on a war expedition in this vicinity, arrived at the Pembina River. Having built a raft and deposited all their extra clothing and provisions upon it, they thus effected a crossing over the river. Leaving all their supplies on the bank of the stream they proceeded north towards the Chippewa camp. Some children were playing and digging wild carrots along a slough some distance south of the camp. As they crept cautiously along, they came in sight of the children playing along the slough. Among these children was a little girl, a daughter of Red Bear. Immediately the Mandans dashed forward to capture the children but as the children were fleet and did not have far to go they all escaped except the daughter of Red Bear. She was very young and could not run fast enough, and so was

taken. After being captured she was immediately scalped on each side of her head and let go. Meanwhile, in the Chippewa camp a certain medicine man or jossakede of the tribe, Mishequt, who was also chief, by his magic art had divined that something unusual was about to happen and had called together a council of the warriors. While this council was in progress, one of the children, a little boy who was the first to reach camp, burst in upon them with the cry, "The Sioux! The Sioux!," mistaking the Mandans for their dreaded enemy the Sioux. Immediately all was commotion, the Chippewa warriors rushed to their tepees for their arms and started after the enemy. On the way to the slough they met the little girl staggering toward the camp, her scalp gone and her head covered with blood. The foremost among the warriors were two sons of Red Bear, senior brothers of the little girl, and thus were the first to meet her. Stopping for a moment to kiss their little sister, they sped on in pursuit of the enemy, leaving the rest to follow. As they reached the north bank of the Pembina River they were just in time to see the last of the Mandans disappearing over the bank.

As they reached the top of the bank they saw a Mandan rise up out of the brush near the bank of the river to reconnoitre the approach of the Chippewas. Immediately both of the brothers raised their guns and fired and so nearly at the

same time that the report of their guns sounded like a single shot. The Mandan dropped dead where he stood. By this time the other Chippewa warriors had come up. The panic-stricken Mandans plunged into the river, everyone where he happened to be, in a desperate endeavor to place the river between him and his pursuers. It was of no avail, however, for the enraged Chippewas were upon them in an instant and numbers of them were shot to death like rats in the water before they could reach the shore. It is not known how many paid the penalty for venturing so near their enemies, but years afterward, when the two tribes were at peace, the Chippewas learned upon one of their friendly visits to the Mandans, that few of this band, numbering about forty, ever reached their own people. Having been obliged to abandon their provisions and spare clothing at the river, all of which fell prey to their enemies, their powder and guns having been wet in their hurried flight through the river, starvation and numerous encounters with wandering bands of Chippewas played havoc with their band.

The little girl who had been scalped did not die as it was expected she would, but lived to grow up. Some time after she was married she was drowned by the upsetting of a canoe.

The names of the two brothers were Southern Sky (Sha-we-ne-kezik) and Great Walker (Nata-wish-kung).

This story was afterward read to Flying Nicely, a step-son of chief Little Duck, a man over 60 years of age, who declared the account to be correct according to their commonly accepted account of the affair. The girl who was scalped married his brother.

The chief Red Bear referred to in the narrative as father of the little girl and the two brothers, succeeded his brother, Mishequet, as head chief and was in time succeeded by his son, also called Red Bear.

NO. 4

Letter of M. Belcourt, A. M. C.

St. Paul,¹ 25. November 1845.

My dear Friend,—

I can now describe to you from personal experience the buffalo hunting carried on by the inhabitants of our country, having been able to accompany them on one of their excursions. I must, by way of introduction, explain to you that the autumn hunt is always the one in which there are fewest hunters and this for the following reasons. A party of half-breeds who have not the means of wintering in the colony, scatters about in all directions, counting for subsistence during the rigorous season, upon the chase of the deer,

From the *Ex. Docs., 31st Cong., 1st Sess., 1849-50*, Vol. VIII., No. 51, p. 44. Translated from the French by Prof. H. R. Brush, University of California, Los Angeles, Calif. (Ed.)

¹ Baie St. Paul, Minnesota.

the elk and the bear; others, who hope to gain more in hunting fur-bearing animals than in hunting the buffalo, follow, with this object, the course of the rivers and the shores of the lakes so that only one-third of the men form the autumn hunting party.

The return from the hunt of last summer had been pitiful. After a very long march in excessively hot weather, the whole party had come back bringing only a quarter of the game they had killed and that of the very poorest quality. This misfortune was due rather to their lack of co-operation than to the scarcity of animals; besides, many of the hunters were discouraged. The latter, however, regained hope when they learned that a priest was to accompany them. With confidence in a better outcome, preparations were made both at St. Boniface and at White Horse Plains, and we started on our way, one after another, up to the ninth of September, when I left, the last. The rendezvous agreed upon was on the Pembina river, not at the former establishment, but at about a day's march farther up. I arrived there the third day after my departure.¹

From the top of the hill which rises to more than two hundred feet above the level of the river, I caught sight of the camp, composed of about sixty tepees. It was placed in the midst of the

¹ Rev. George Antoine Belcourt, 1803-74. For sketch of his life see his autobiography in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, I., 240-244.

prairies, in which about three hundred horses and more than one hundred cattle were grazing. In the distance some young hunters, following the windings of the river, were returning, laden with game; while on the other side some children were coming back to camp, bending under the weight of their catch of fish. The carts were crossing in every direction, transporting firewood, extra axletrees, poles for the tepees and material for the drying frames. As we were going to leave the woods and start out on the prairie, as immense as a sea, all these objects had to be provided.

Up to this time there had been no mishaps except a violent storm that I passed through, by dispensation of Providence, on the Pembina mountains; and I would not care to mention an accident so common to travelers if I had not been violently shocked by the electricity of the Supreme Physician. My horse shied several times and remained stupefied for several days.

The 14th, the weather being warm, we broke camp in order to climb the ascent on the opposite side. From there we saw, like the ocean with its waves, this limitless prairie with its hills and hollows, one after the other, in constant uniformity as far as the Missouri—I might say as far as the Rocky Mountains.

Here we had to determine in what direction to bend our course. Seeing that the hunters of the

Red River had not come to unite with us, we felt it our duty not to travel along the mountains in their direction for fear of interfering with their hunt by driving the buffalo away from them. In the other direction we knew that a certain number of half breeds had established their quarters for the winter at the extremity of the Turtle Mountain and on the Mouse river; in consequence, we should probably have no luck if we were to follow on their trail. It was accordingly decided to take a middle course, at first S. S. E. and then S. S. W. This course would lead us to the Lac des Branches,¹ Hole Buttes (des Trous), Devils Lake, the Little Fork of the Cheyenne River, Whitewood (Cottonwood) Lake and the Dog's House (Dogden Butte). The notice being given publicly and the guides being named, the march was begun.

The carts, to the number of two hundred and thirteen, advanced in three columns, some being drawn by oxen and others by horses. They formed lines much longer than would at first be imagined if one did not know that to each of these conveyances are attached shafts of from fifteen to eighteen feet in length.

In addition, some horsemen dispersed in all directions and disappeared in the distance, only coming back in the evening to the place indicated in advance for the camp. Like skilful sailors,

¹ Rush Lake.

these children of the prairies march for entire days through hills and valleys which, to the eye of the stranger, offer nothing distinctive, and they arrive in the evening, sometimes in complete darkness, precisely at the point indicated.

We camped early, awaiting impatiently the report of the scouts. The first one to appear was my hunter; he had not seen any buffalo but in place of this he brought two cranes, one of which spanned eight feet and three inches. This bird, the flesh of which tastes bad, is abundant in this part of the country. It feeds on roots which it digs out of the ground and pulls up with its bill. When wounded it becomes a redoubtable adversary. Raising its head to the height of a man, it pursues in its turn the huntsman and tries to pluck out his eyes. It has happened that young savages have had their bellies pierced and their intestines devoured by this ferocious bird.

Toward nightfall all had come back with the exception of two men. Very fresh tracks had been noticed. The following morning the number of discoveries was greater still. Toward ten o'clock in the morning the two young hunters who had lain out over night returned, laden with fresh meat and by evening this article was very abundant. However, buffalo meat is not very agreeable to the palate nor very easy to digest; nevertheless, I was served with the best part, the tongue; "For," they said to me, "you are not

accustomed to eat this meat and if you eat any other part you will get the 'beef-sickness.'” Beef-sickness, as may be suspected, is nothing else than indigestion. This meat seemed to have the consistency of leather and as our young hunters who rejoice in good health do not bother much about mastication, they sometimes fall a victim to it. At any rate, we thought that the next day we might be able to catch up with the herd of cows.

I did not concern myself about the hunters who manifested their joy in the noisiest and most exuberant fashion. We had hardly traveled more than a half hour when we caught sight of a herd of buffalo bulls. We recognized them from quite a distance by their habit of keeping farther apart from each other than the cows do. We advanced at a gentle gallop and were within two or three rods of them while they were still grazing peacefully. Then we slowed our horses down to a walk; for, if one goes up softly, they do not take flight until one gets very close to them.

Although they showed little anxiety at our approach, they gave evidence of bad humor. Some threw into the air eddies of dust with their front hoofs; others rolled on the ground like horses, then, with the agility of a hare, they sprang up quickly. A few, more careful of their gravity, looked at us fixedly, letting escape from time to time a dull and muffled bellowing; the repeated

switching of their tails showed us, nevertheless, that our presence was not any more agreeable to them than to their companions.

At last the signal was given; we strike spurs to our horses and these thick and heavy masses flee swiftly before us. Several are overthrown at the first onslaught; others, feeling themselves mortally wounded, stop, furiously tearing up the ground or pawing it with their front hoofs like rams. Under a bristling tuft of hair their eyes sparkle with rage and warn the most intrepid hunters to keep at a respectful distance.

This course, which lasted a quarter of an hour, was hardly ended when a cloud of dust was seen rising from the top of a hill several miles from us. I had not the time to ask the cause of it before each one sprang on his horse, crying out as he galloped, "The cows! The cows!" They did not even take the time to cut out the tongues of some ten bulls that were left dead on the field. Soon all the horsemen were on the height from whence the signal had come. Having arrived at the spot I almost imagined I saw close at hand the animals which they had so confidently announced as being here, but to my great surprise I saw nothing in any direction. At last they pointed out to me through the mirage, at a distance of ten or twelve miles, some specks which looked like trees; these objects our hunters had made out to be not trees, or even buffalo bulls, but cows.

All the hunters gathered here numbered fifty-five. The horses seemed to share the joy and ardor of their masters. To moderate the spirit of the horse was a difficult thing; but to moderate that of the horseman was still more so. The great point, if one wishes to be successful in this hunt, is to advance softly to within two gunshots. If, as happens when the hunters have nobody to direct them, the best horses get ahead, the weakest can no longer overtake the prey. From that arise discord, quarrels, hatred and all that follow in their train.

The instinct of the buffalo leads them to gather together in a mass when they are attacked. The bulls who have gotten separated from the cows gather together first, then flee before the horses until they rejoin the cows; the latter gather together in their turn and flee before the former, but much more rapidly. To reach the cows one must get through the compact phalanx of the bulls and it is in this that the chief danger lies. Here is an incident to illustrate this statement. During last summer's hunt, one savage, thrown far from his horse which a bull had overturned, was for a quarter of an hour the toy of one of these furious animals. Fleeing all the time at a run, he tossed the unfortunate hunter again and again fifteen or twenty feet in the air, always catching him on his horns. To give a feeble idea of the immense strength of these animals, it suf-

fices to tell that one of them, happening to pass through the line of carts, threw himself on one of them and with one toss of his horns he made it turn over two or three times. Now, this vehicle, drawn by a horse, carried a load of more than a thousand pounds.

No less a danger is that of getting in the direction of the bullets. Fired from every side, they whistle about in a terrifying manner in the midst of whirlwinds of dust which do not permit one to see anything at ten paces distant. Recently, in one of these hunts, one man had his belly pierced by a bullet. Fortunately, the wound was not mortal. On another occasion, the bullet pierced the hood, the shirt, the skin and the flesh of a hunter and was arrested by a rib. By good fortune none of these mischances saddened our trip. It may be believed that, in consideration of all these dangers, the hunter cannot keep himself from a certain fear, keen enough to be depicted on his face.

The rapidity with which they fire their guns is astonishing. It is not rare to see three buffalo brought down by the same hunter within the distance of fifty rods. Some fire as many as five times while their horses are traversing this distance at a run. This is their way of charging. Only the first bullet is rammed home; for the others they cap, pour in the powder, then, having the mouth full of balls, they let one of them fall

into the gun; the saliva makes it stick to the powder in the bottom of the barrel. The horse, however, is abandoned to his own devices; but he is so well trained that when his master leans from one side to the other he understands it and obeys instantly.

After the first course, which lasted about a half hour, I counted one hundred and sixty-nine cows. We camped near this place. The next morning in another course one hundred and seventy-seven were brought down. The third day several horsemen rested; those who did hunt brought back to camp one hundred and fourteen cows; the fourth day one hundred and sixty-eight cows were killed. In all there were six hundred and twenty-eight cows. One might be induced to believe that we must have had a sufficient load for two hundred and thirteen carts; nevertheless, much more was necessary than we had, for a large part of the meat is lost by the way they have here of cutting up and preparing the bison meat.

All the meat is cut up by the women who press it out in their hands, giving the thickness of a quarter of an inch to this long shred which they next extend on drying frames, like pieces of linen. These grills are formed of small poles placed horizontally and in two or three rows, upon tripods of wood. After a few days this meat is dry; they fold up and fasten, in bundles of sixty to seventy pounds in weight, the tenderloin, the

hide, the undershoulder pieces, the large humps and the belly pieces. The rest is piled up to be beaten to powder, some hides serving as a threshing floor. This meat, having been previously exposed to a steady heat upon a drying frame of green wood, has become brittle and easy to reduce to powder. The fat of the interior, having been cut up and melted in large cauldrons of sheet iron, is poured out on the powdered meat which is stirred up with paddles until all the powder is well saturated; then this mixture is placed in skin sacks from which they have not even taken the trouble to remove the hair. The sacks so filled are called **taureaux** or **pimikehigan**. If the fat that has been used is that of the udder they are called **taureaux fins**. Some add to this mixture dried fruits such as pears, cherries; then they are called **taureaux a graines**. Their epicures esteem the first kind good, the second better and third very good. In order to give an idea of the shrinkage of these meats it is sufficient to observe that only half a sack and three quarters of a bundle of meat are gotten from one cow, so that the most economical calculate that eight or ten cows are needed to form a load.

To prepare the skins for clothing, after having stretched them on frames, they are scraped on the inner side with a finetoothed bone and on the outside with a small sharp-edged scraper, suitable for removing the hair. This is the work of the

women. The men break up the bones which they boil in water to extract from them the marrow which is used for frying. This fat is preserved in the bladders of the animals. The bones of two cows are needed to get enough fat to fill one bladder which contains twelve pounds.

The quadrupeds of these prairies are the buffalo; the antelope, a species of gazelle; the deer; the little swift, something like a fox; the badger; the jackrabbit, differing from the cottontail which it surpasses in size and agility; the gopher, resembling the squirrel and multiplying prodigiously; the coyotes, in immense number, the howling of which prevents one from sleeping when he is not accustomed to the sound; lastly, the white bear, one of which was seen this year at Cottonwood Lake, without our being able to kill it.

While we were going along the shore of Devils Lake, a sheet of water about ten miles long by two wide, several horsemen were pursuing a small herd of cows. One of these men having fallen from his horse, was not able to remount his horse, which continued briskly on its way as if it were going to work great havoc, so much passion do these animals have for the chase. Here is an illustration of another horse, which was more intelligent still. His master having several horses, left this one, his favorite, to let it rest, and on starting off he directed his wife to tie it

up; this she did not do. Noticing that they were starting off without him, the noble animal galloped after us, joined us at the moment of the charge, plunged into the midst of the confusion as if it had been lashed forward by its owner; then following the cow in all her twists and turns, it seemed to be waiting for her to fall. The charge ended, the horse came back whinnying after its master whom it knew very well how to find, although the hunters had scattered here and there over an extent of several miles. When the camps are changed the tepees are found in positions so different that a man sometimes searches for a long time before finding his own lodge; but the horse, although it has been set free at some distance, comes back at a fixed hour. Without making any detours it goes straight to its master's tepee and striking at the door with its hoof, demands imperiously the reward of the day, its measure of barley.

The twenty-fifth, we camped on the Cheyenne river, the longest branch of the Red river. We saw there an immense herd of cows. On a space of about an acre in area I counted two hundred and twenty of these animals; the banks of this river were covered thus with them as far as the eye could reach and in all directions. One may judge now, if it is possible, of the richness of these prairies. Is it not deplorable that the generous Hand, which has for so long a time distributed

daily bread to so many peoples, should not yet be known by them? The Christian half-breeds are nothing in comparison to the many tribes which are nourished constantly and wholly by the products of this hunting.

As I was usually accustomed to accompany the hunters when they left the camp, I was a witness of their dangerous situation in the first charge that they made in this place. Having started in pursuit of a numerous band of cows, they were at the very height of their ardor and speed when they arrived, pell-mell with these animals, on the top of a bluff, strewn with rocks, where cows, horses and horsemen were overturned and rolled about in such confusion that one can hardly see how any of them escaped being killed on the spot, either dashed against the stones or crushed by those who were following. One man, only, lost consciousness but soon regained his senses; two horses got up limping and a few cows had their legs broken. The unhorsed riders picked themselves up, uttering cries of joy to reassure their comrades and started again in pursuit, cracking their whips, in order thus better to make up the lost time; for, as may be imagined, the cows had not been waiting for them. When I had assured myself that nothing serious had happened, I continued to follow until, having reached a level part of the prairie, I dashed into the midst of the hunters and brought down a cow. I was

satisfied with that, although I felt myself tempted to go farther; but I had no reason at all to expose myself to danger and reproach.

One hunter on returning from this course, having followed the little river in its turns, had noticed some tracks left by a beaver. The following day traps were set and five of them were killed. I myself went to see their dam, a work truly admirable. In this place there is no wood except small willows of the thickness of a finger; however, this dam is so solid that it serves as a bridge for the buffalo. I could easily cross it on horseback.

For several days the camp had been entirely without firewood, the provision for it which we had made at Pembina being entirely exhausted. They made use of dung and of the ribs and shoulder blades of the cows to feed our fires and cook the meat needed for our daily use. This fire is very hot, especially when the dung is dry, but it gives off a smoke, the odor of which is not very agreeable to the nose of a stranger. Our work consequently was suffering from the lack of wood, the sun not having enough heat to dry the meat and this demanded the aid of fire. We were in consequence obliged to leave this place and go to the islands of Cottonwood Lake, that is to say, to the thickets which surround this little lake.

This is one of the most picturesque places and offers the finest and most varied points of view. The lake, which is only a basin surrounded by

very high hills, contains very salt water but it is surrounded by very abundant springs of sweet water. The slopes of the hills are covered with oak, ash and whitewood. From their top one sees at a short distance the Dog's House (Dogden Butte), a hill which serves the Sioux as a watch tower to spy out their enemies. On the other side are the heights called the Grands-Couteaux; they stretch out along the Missouri on a line parallel to the Rocky Mountains. From our camp on a good horse one can reach the Missouri in a day's march, the distance being only twenty-five leagues.

Arrived in this camp on the second of October, we remained until the sixteenth, having the buffalo around us in very great abundance. On the tenth there was a very heavy fall of snow, the thermometer stood for two days constantly five degrees below zero Reaumur, and the ice on the lake became solid. Six days later the temperature moderated and the snow disappeared. This cold did not retard our labors at all; on the contrary, every one being afraid of an early winter, worked day and night: the laziest exerted themselves greatly fearing lest the more diligent, having finished their tasks, might start off without waiting for them.

I should not have liked to leave these herds without getting a correct idea of the size and conformation of these animals. As in other species,

the male is larger than the cow; its horns are scarcely visible in the midst of a tuft of hair which covers a part of the head and neck and gives it a very strange appearance; the cow, on the contrary, is not provided with this mane, so that its projecting horns enable it to be recognized from a distance. I measured a bull of medium size and found it eight feet nine inches in girth, nine feet two inches long, the muzzle twenty inches long to the top of the forehead, the tail one foot three inches long, and fourteen inches between the eyes. The longest side of the hump, inclined backward twenty degrees on the backbone, was twenty inches in length.

Although the summer hunt would have been more favorable for catching the calves and weaning them, I nevertheless made a trial of it on this trip. A hunter pursued one and caught it by the neck; but after five or six days it died from having run too much, as I was told. For my part, I believe it was rather from grief, as it refused to eat during these six days. In the springtime these calves are easily weaned and when they are tamed they become very useful. A native who had harnessed one of them to a plow worked without difficulty with this animal alone.

At last, the sixteenth of October, we started back, carrying on our carts 1,776 cows killed by 55 hunters. This meat formed 228 taureaux, 1,213 bales of dried meat, 166 boskoyas or sacks of

fat, each of them weighing 200 pounds, and 556 bladders of the marrow, of 12 pounds each; the entire amount, estimating at the lowest rate, being worth a little more than 1,700 pounds sterling. The expenses of the trip and the wages of the employes amounting only to about 200 pounds sterling, there remains 1,500 pounds sterling, earned by 55 hunters in the space of less than two months, counting from the day of departure to the day of return.

We numbered in all 309 souls; I had catechised regularly 68 children; mass was said every day; God was served and glorified by the union that reigned among all the members of our little community. Twice the prairie had gotten on fire and each time a providential rain had fallen to extinguish it. Full of gratitude, we were coming back, each one returning thanks to God for the good fortune they had had to be accompanied by one of their pastors; for it was to his influence that they ascribed the enormous loads that they were carrying back.

It is easy to understand that if there is no one who joins to the influence of his character the force of words to maintain concord and union, disorder very soon arises between these hot-headed men. The readiest hastens toward the herd; it is not possible to catch up with him. Starting out alone after the buffalo, a chase in which all should have taken part, he comes back with only

two or three cows when they might have taken two or three hundred. This has been their misfortune since the priests have ceased to accompany them in their hunting expeditions. Consequently, while the utmost harmony prevailed, we gathered at our leisure the provisions that we wanted; on the other hand, the hunters of the Red river, given up to discord, saw their prey continually escape from them without being able to overtake it, and thus they were filled with despair at their poor success. In consequence, they returned with a half load of green meat or bull meat. Such a trip could not cover the expense that it entails.

There is no doubt that a priest would do much good by following the hunters, not only in a material way, but also from the moral and religious point of view. His presence would prevent many moral shortcomings; he could catechise the children who, wandering about continually, cannot elsewhere receive religious instruction; his influence would even extend over the savages for whose conversion, being among them, he would labor more efficaciously. I am speaking by virtue of the experience acquired during this trip; all those whom I met, at the first invitation I gave them, came to hear the word of God. As for our Christians, it was indeed edifying to see with what eagerness they were present at our catechisings. Several heard mass every day and every Sunday

from ten to fifteen came to the Holy Table. On these days I gave instruction in the language of the country; this attention pleased the halfbreeds exceedingly, accustomed as they are to hear preaching only in the French language which they understand.

For our return we had to face the north; we had before us a ten days' march on a bare plain. During this march we could light no fire, although each night the Reaumur thermometer marked three to four degrees below zero, for we were out of wood, the weight of our loads preventing us from adding any. As we were making our way along slowly, I had leisure to examine some petrifications, very interesting even in these places where they are so common. There were some elm trees whose roots and trunk were turned completely to stone.

This stone splits like wood and retains the color and grain of the wood from which it was formed and sharpens tools very well.

The twenty-second I went on ahead, accompanied by a half-breed who, like myself, had two good horses for relay. We started at the point where the forty-eighth degree of north latitude is cut by the ninety-ninth degree, thirty minutes west longitude, and we had to proceed toward the N. N. E. At two o'clock in the afternoon we chanced upon a small party of English half-breeds who had come to get fresh meat around the Lake

of Rocks. From time to time during the day we saw great herds of cows and bulls. At evening we camped without fire or water in a glacial temperature. We could take no food as this would have increased our thirst; in short, our position was such as to induce us to rise early in the morning. At daybreak on the following day we were on the Pembina river at five or six leagues from our starting point. There we found wood and water which enabled us to satisfy our hunger. On the twenty-third we stopped for the night at the Riviere aux Islettes de Bois¹ and the twenty-fourth at eleven o'clock in the morning I was at St. Paul,² situated at latitude 50 degrees north and 97 degrees 40 minutes longitude west from Greenwich.

¹ Now known as the Boyne river, the northern branch of the Scratching or Morris river.

² Baie St. Paul, Manitoba.

THE W-BAR RANCH ON THE MISSOURI SLOPE

By Bertha M. Kuhn

I

While the early settlers of the Red River valley were profiting by its rich soil, those who found their way to the western part of the territory were presented with an equal, or perhaps greater opportunity for wealth. In 1885 there were in Billings county approximately 1,500 acres of vacant land to the settler although this was about fifteen years before the coming of the homesteader, and there were but thirteen farmers in the county. The Scandinavians generally found in an agricultural section were not attracted to western Dakota, and represented but $6\frac{2}{3}\%$ of the population of Billings county at that time. It is significant in comparison with the eastern counties that 12%, or nearly twice that number, were Irish. Cattle raising was then the leading industry of those counties west of the river. It was the rancher's day, and though it was a short one, he managed to gain considerable profit from his privilege. Those engaging in the cattle industry

in 1885 comprise 31% of the 737 people in Billings county.

The Slope country was admirably fitted for ranching. First, there was plenty of room. At this time there were 1,240,000 acres of vacant public lands in Billings county alone. The topography of the land also favors the industry. It is largely a bad-land country with buttes, draws and deep-bedded creeks. Thickets of plum and buffalo-berry bushes, ash, box-elder, elm and cedar trees afford natural shelter for stock, and the buttes and mesas break the force of the winter winds. Grazing is good the year round, for the short nutritious grass ripens early, thus escaping harm from frosts. It therefore retains its food value, and is as good as hay when found in winter on exposed places. In the language of the range, they had "free grass." The would-be rancher had only to find a suitable place beyond the range of other ranches, drive in his herds, put up a few log buildings and begin business. In 1880, the Northern Pacific railroad had been extended to the Montana-Dakota line. Before this time there were few ranches in the Missouri-Yellowstone region. Until 1883, however, the ranches were small and dealt largely in native stock.

In 1883, the Northern Pacific reached Gold Creek, Montana, where it met the western division and connected the East with the West. This was an important event in the ranching industry.

It made possible the shipment of immense herds from the west and Texas. Large ranches developed, fortunes were made, and the fame of successful enterprise attracted many people to the Slope.

In 1883 the Marquis D'Mores established a meat packing plant in Medora at an expense of 250,000 dollars. He expected to utilize the supply of cattle and eliminate the expense of shipment to Chicago. Medora had been established in 1880, and was at this time the county seat of Billings county. In 1883, also, Theodore Roosevelt came to Billings county and founded the Elkhorn ranch on the Little Missouri near Medora, and Pierre Wibaux located the W-bar on the Big Beaver in Billings county about fifteen miles northwest of the present town of Beach. The OX ranch on the present site of Marmarth, Bowman county, was owned by Towers and Gudgeon Company, composed of J. R. Towers and Major Towers now of Kansas City, Missouri, and their partner now of Independence, Missouri. Seven miles north of Marmarth was the 777 ranch operated by the Berry Boyce Cattle Company, of which Henry Boyce now of Pasadena, California, was partner and manager. The Berry Boyce Cattle Company also owned the PK horse ranch on Elk Creek about nine miles north of Beach. The Beaver Valley Cattle Company was located at the mouth of Beaver Creek, and the Long X

was one of the largest on Cherry Creek, a tributary of the Little Missouri in McKenzie county north of Dickinson. The latter ranch was owned by the Reynolds Brothers, now of Texas.

The OX and 777 ranches used to drive their cattle from Texas in the summer time, starting in the spring and taking the entire summer for the trip. In 1884 the Long X also brought a large herd. Pierre Wibaux of the W-bar ranch shipped through his agent and partner, Jack Serruys, to Wyoming, and from there Ben Lawless, an experienced cow man, drove the herd to the range. With the coming of the railroad, Texas herds became a profitable investment, for two years on the range served to round out the large, gaunt longhorns. But they were the menace of the small rancher. Having acquired the habit of wandering, they frequently scattered his small herds, making ceaseless vigilance necessary. In 1883 a bill was passed prohibiting Texas cattle east of the Missouri.

In 1886 this wholesale buying of cattle on the part of the big ranchers resulted in ruin to many of them. It is estimated that a range ten miles square will keep between 2,000 and 3,000 head of cattle. If the rancher attempts to pasture more stock on the given range, the cattle suffer for his mistake. This is called overstocking the range, and during the hard winter of 1886-7, it caused a loss of 60% of all cattle in western Dakota and

eastern Montana, whereas the average loss per winter was only 5%. The summer of 1886 was dry, and the sparse, short grass was well cropped off before snow came. In November, a heavy snow fell and continued all winter. Ravines, river-bottoms and even the higher land were covered. The cattle could scarcely move about in the deep snow. They gnawed twigs, brush and even the bitter sage. The hardy little western horses also perished, for the snow was too deep to be pawed off the grass.

After the severe losses of 1887, Theodore Roosevelt returned to the East, and Pierre Wibaux, whose business had been almost completely ruined, was forced to borrow money and begin over again. Others followed his example, and the ranching industry was soon flourishing again. Ten years later the hard winter of 1896-7 dealt a final blow which few of the big ranches survived—perhaps because of the coming of the homesteader. The ranching period might be bounded by the dates 1880, when the railroad reached the line, and 1900, when the land was surveyed and agriculture began.

II

The W-bar ranch, owned by Pierre Wibaux, is probably the most typical of this period. Wibaux was one of those wealthy foreigners who saw the possibilities of the new West, open to settlement in 1883. He came to America from Roubaix,

France, a town of the Belgian boundary, not far from Calais, and being fortunate in arriving early, was able to choose a good location. This he found on Beaver Creek, about fifteen miles northwest of the present town of Beach. Here the creek meanders through a wide, level valley with high banks on either side. The broad, low plain is an ideal building spot compared with the broken, rolling prairie above. Trees and brush are abundant, and together with the steep sides of the valley itself provide sufficient shelter.

Locating was a simple matter in the early days. Wibaux was able to take advantage of the squatter's right, but later in 1903, after the land was surveyed, purchased about 36,000 acres from the Northwestern Improvement, or the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. This land included all the odd numbered sections in townships 15 and 16, range 60, and 16 and 17, range 61 in Montana; also in townships 142 and 143, range 105, and 143, range 104 in Dakota. This strip of land approximately six miles wide and thirty miles long, extended along the Beaver to within four miles of the present town of Wibaux, Montana (called Mingusville until 1896), and cost him \$35,597.52.

The ranch thus located was called the W-bar because of the brand chosen, a W with a bar beneath. The range of the new ranch extended from the Yellowstone on the west to the Little Missouri, a piece of public domain about equally

divided in Montana and Dakota. Wibaux built a log house fourteen by sixteen on the banks of the Beaver, and began business with an outlay of \$10,000 and the services of two men. Mrs. Wibaux and their son, Cyril, came from France, and the family lived one winter in the log house which must have seemed to them many miles from civilization. Here on Christmas day a dinner of such magnificence was served that the memory is still vivid in the minds of old timers. This was the beginning of the fame of the W-bar socially. In the life of the Wibaux family the work-driven frontiersmen learned of the outside world, its culture and interests. No wonder that even in its decay the spell of romance still surrounds the old place.

Wibaux continued ranching on a small scale until 1886. He had only about eight hundred cattle. During this hard winter he, in company with the other ranchers, lost heavily, and having little, his business was ruined. In order to get a new start he secured a half million in France at the rate of ten per cent. By the terms of the transaction no interest was to be paid until ten years later, when interest and principal would amount to one million.

Hereafter the W-bar was considered one of the big ranches, and its proprietor became known as a cattle king. He owned at one time 65,000 cattle and 300 saddle horses. In 1890 the largest ship-

ment of 12,000 cattle was made. Like the other large ranchers, Mr. Wibaux also speculated in Texas cattle. In 1899 and 1900, a herd of 10,000 was brought from Texas; Ben Lawless, then Wibaux's foreman, drove the cattle to the range. Jack Serruys, a former partner, claims to have shipped as many as four hundred cars of Texas cattle to the W-bar at one time.

As Wibaux increased his stock it became necessary to hire more men. The extent of his business may be comprehended from the fact that one spring 10,000 calves were branded at the W-bar. Instead of two men he later employed twenty-five in the busy season and ten in the winter. These men were usually native Montana cowboys and were paid from thirty-five to forty dollars a month. The foreman or range boss was paid one hundred dollars a month at first, but later twenty-five hundred a year. J. B. Lambs, now of Kalispell, Montana, was foreman from 1888 to 1898. Others were Ike Rogers, now sheriff of Chateau county, W. H. Rucker, now alderman, W. A. Orgain, merchant, and J. C. Kinney, banker. The last three named live in Wibaux, Montana.

About 1890, in the midst of prosperity, the White House, or The Palace, as it was called, was built. The unique position of such a building, out on the prairie fifteen miles from even a small station, is indicative of the character of Pierre

Wibaux, as well as the condition of his business. The lumber for building purposes had to be hauled over very poor roads broken by gullies and draws and winding in and out among buttes fringed with bowlders. But the size and finish of the old ranch house show that this obstacle was not seriously considered.

The White House was a combination of the colonial and local in type, a long, one-story structure eighty by thirty-six. At the front or north side was the low-roofed porch, characteristic of the ranch house, but usually added with a view to utility only. But this was one of many ranch houses which gave the impression of having been planned and built by one who enjoyed the outside as well as the inside of his home. It is evident that the White House was built primarily for a home. Wibaux appreciated his adopted country, and retained this feeling until his death. The ranchers were not all, therefore, mere speculators or adventurers, but people who liked the West and its occupations, and would probably have continued them had not outside factors made this impossible.

The rooms of the White House were large, with high ceilings and elaborately designed woodwork and wallpaper. In the sitting room was a cozy fireplace, and the house also possessed a billiard and wine room for the amusement of cowboys and ranchers from far and near. The

hospitality of the Wibaux home was often sought, and highly appreciated. Water for use in the house and the large lawn in front was piped from the windmill tank by the barn. In the wash room one of the large sandstones peculiar to that region had been very cleverly utilized for a sink. This sink was about four feet long by two and a half feet wide and six or eight inches thick. The center was carefully hollowed out, and holes drilled for faucets. The result was unique, yet evidently quite practical.

The White House was the residence of the Wibaux family only. The foreman lived in a house some rods distant, near the road. A high fence added to the seclusion of the Wibaux home which was set far back in the trees on the creek bank.

The position of the White House was such that in spring the water often rose high enough to flood it. In 1900 an ice jam formed above and the resulting flood damaged most of the furnishings. Frequent flooding made living in the building very disagreeable, and after the place was sold the house was untenanted for years. So often had the water risen on its floor that the boards were coated several inches with baked mud. In 1913 the White House was destroyed by fire.

Mrs. Wibaux spent but one winter in the new house. The son's education necessitated a trip to France every winter to take advantage of the schools there, but the family spent the summers

on the ranch until 1897, after which Mrs. Wibaux remained abroad.

Meanwhile a residence was maintained on the present site of the Orgain block, in the town of Wibaux. The place was known as The Park, and contained an artificial lake about forty feet square, partly covered by a stone grotto. The house was a long, one-story building with a porch across the end, and a few marble statues were scattered about the grounds. To keep up this park, Wibaux employed a caretaker for many years named Summerfeldt.

In 1904, as big business was no longer profitable and because other interests demanded much of his time, Wibaux sold the W-bar to the Calvin Investment Company of Miles City, receiving sixteen dollars per acre. Calvin, the new owner, lived at the ranch for five years until his death. In crossing the creek back of the barn the horse he was riding slipped and fell in such a way that Calvin was instantly killed. Mrs. Calvin proved up on the homestead and the ranch was sold again to Thomas Mathews of Omaha. It has since changed hands several times.

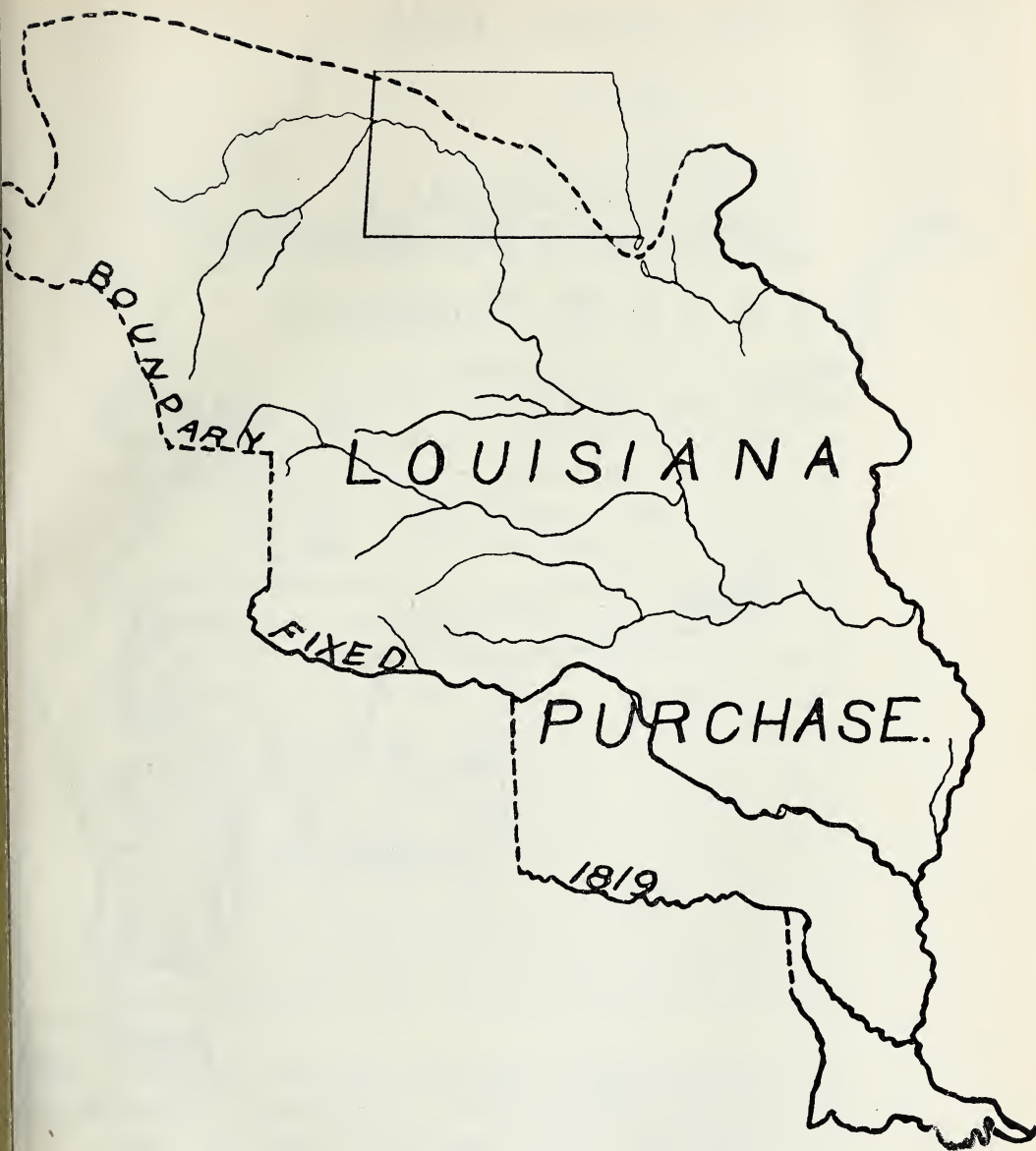
Before he gave up ranching, Wibaux in 1895 became president of the State National Bank of Miles City, which position he held eighteen years until his death in 1913. In 1897 he also became interested in the Clover Leaf Goldmining Company. The Clover Leaf mine, formerly known

as the Uncle Sam mine, is at Roubaix, near Deadwood, South Dakota. He was also a large stockholder in the American Bankers Association of Chicago, holding at his death five hundred and seventy-nine shares valued at twenty-five thousand dollars.

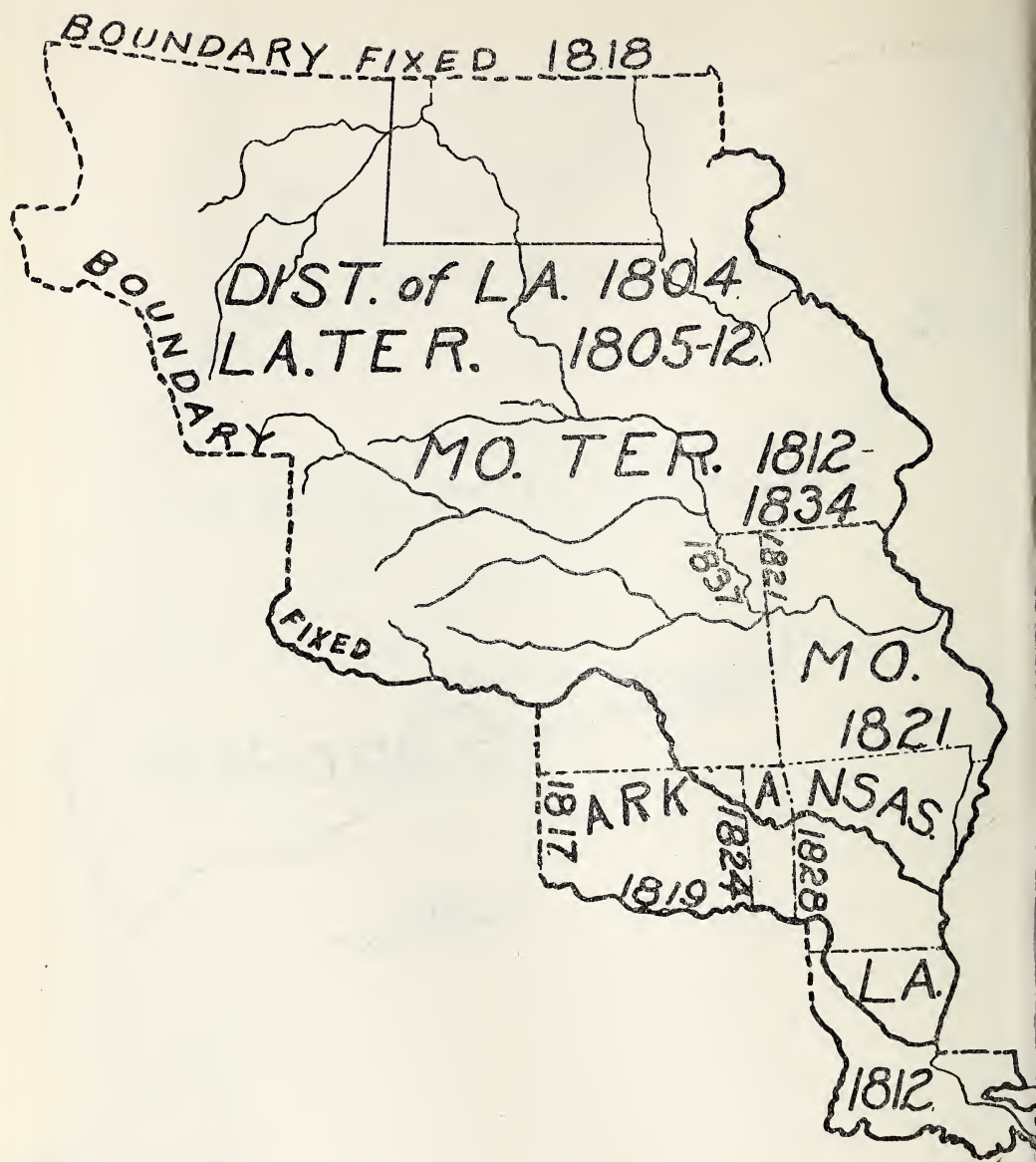
When Pierre Wibaux died, March 21, 1913, at the age of fifty-five, he left an estate valued at \$539,690. This passed largely to his son, Cyril Wibaux, then a lieutenant in the French army. Ten thousand dollars, however, was bequeathed to Miles City, Montana, for a public park, and in Wibaux, the town with which he had for years been so intimately connected, a statue of the deceased has been erected by the son in accordance with the terms of the will. In this statue rest the ashes of Pierre Wibaux. The statue represents Pierre Wibaux in cowboy costume, and faces the old ranch where, as he said, he had spent the happiest days of his life.

Note—The will of Pierre Wibaux is on the file in Wibaux, Montana. (Ed.)

**HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF
COUNTIES IN NORTH DAKOTA**



MAP-1.



MAP - 2

HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF COUNTIES IN NORTH DAKOTA

CHAPTER I

It is the purpose of this study to present a complete and accurate account of the various changes which have been made in the boundaries of the counties organized within the limits of the present state of North Dakota from 1849 until the present time. The territorial and state laws creating these counties are quoted in full, and the boundaries are sketched on a series of maps. In the several instances where counties have been organized, not by a special law of the legislature, but by voting under a general law upon county division, an effort has been made to give the data as complete as possible, and where creation or division of counties caused litigation the court records of the case are cited. It is hoped that this study may be found useful as a reference work to students of North Dakota history, particularly to those engaged in the writing of county and state history.

Before entering upon the detailed account of county organization, a brief outline will be given here showing the changes in the boundaries of the territories of which North Dakota formed a

part from 1804 until 1889, when it became a state.

The entire territory included within the present boundaries of the state of North Dakota is usually considered a part of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. But, strictly speaking, only that region drained by the Missouri and its branches was a part of the original Louisiana Purchase,¹ while the Red river drainage area belonged to Canada until 1818 when the present northern boundary of the forty-ninth parallel was fixed by a treaty between Great Britain and the United States. In 1804 the Missouri river region of North Dakota was included in the District of Louisiana, whose name was changed the following year to Louisiana Territory. In 1812 Louisiana Territory, reduced in size by the admission of Louisiana state, was reorganized under the name of Missouri Territory.² From Missouri Territory were created Arkansas Territory in 1817, with reduced area in 1824, and with still smaller territory in 1828, the last of which was made Arkansas state in 1836. Missouri state was admitted in 1821. In 1834 all that part of the present state east of the Missouri and White Earth rivers formed a part of the newly organized Michigan Territory,³ and was successively incorporated into Wisconsin Territory in 1836,⁴

1 Map 1, opp. p. 168.

2 Map 2, opp. p. 169.

3 Map 3, opp. p. 170.

4 Map 4, opp. p. 170.



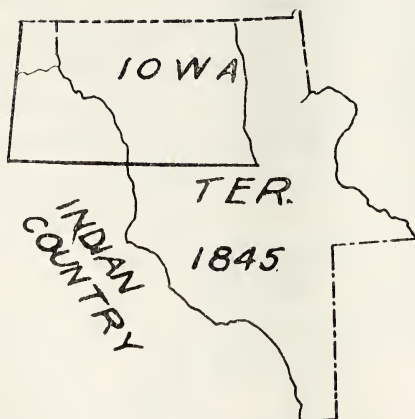
MAP~3.



MAP~4.



MAP~5.



MAP~6.

into Iowa Territory in 1838,⁵ and into Minnesota Territory in 1849.⁶ Iowa territory was reduced in size in 1845 by the admission of the original state of Iowa,⁷ and again in 1846 by the enlargement of the state of Iowa to its present boundaries.⁸ Missouri Territory, renamed the Indian Country in 1834, included that portion of North Dakota west of the Missouri river until 1854, when this region became part of Nebraska Territory.⁹ After the admission of Minnesota to statehood in 1858, the country situated between the Red and Missouri rivers remained unorganized for three years.¹⁰ Meanwhile, large tracts of land bordering the Missouri, Niobrara and Big Sioux rivers were ceded to the federal government, white settlers were admitted in 1859, and a provisional government was formed by the inhabitants. On March 2, 1861, President Buchanan signed the bill creating Dakota Territory. The original Dakota Territory was bounded on the north by the international boundary line, on the west by the eastern boundary of Washington Territory (the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains); on the south by the forty-third parallel, the Keya Peya river to its mouth, the Niobrara river to its mouth, and the Missouri river to the mouth

⁵ Map 5, opp. p. 171.

⁶ Map 8, opp. p. 172.

⁷ Map 6, opp. p. 171.

⁸ Map 7, opp. p. 172.

⁹ Map 9, opp. p. 173.

¹⁰ Map 10, opp. p. 174.

of the Big Sioux; and on the east by the western boundary lines of Iowa and Minnesota.¹¹

The first territorial officers were appointed by President Lincoln, and by June, 1861, the government was organized. The first legislature, elected the following September, was in session at Yankton from March 17 to May 17, 1862. It was this legislature which made the first division of the territory into counties.

In 1863, when Idaho Territory was created, the western boundary of Dakota Territory was fixed at the 104th meridian.¹² The act of 1864 organizing Montana Territory placed the eastern boundary of Montana in its present location,¹³ and added to Dakota Territory that part of the present state of Wyoming (then part of Idaho territory) which lies east of a line drawn along the 110th meridian from the 41st parallel to the Rocky Mountains, thence along their crest to the 111th meridian, thence by that meridian to the 45th parallel.¹⁴

With the admission of Wyoming Territory in 1868, the present western boundary of the Dakotas was located,¹⁵ and with the extension of Nebraska to its present northern boundary in 1882, the southern boundary of the Dakota Territory

¹¹ *Laws of Dakota, 1862, Yankton, D. T., 1862*, pp. 21-22. Map 11, opp. p. 175.

¹² Map 12, opp. p. 175.

¹³ 27° West from Washington, or 104° 3' 1.35" West from Greenwich.

¹⁴ Map 13, opp. p. 176.

¹⁵ 27° West from Washington, or 104° 3' 1.35" West from Greenwich.

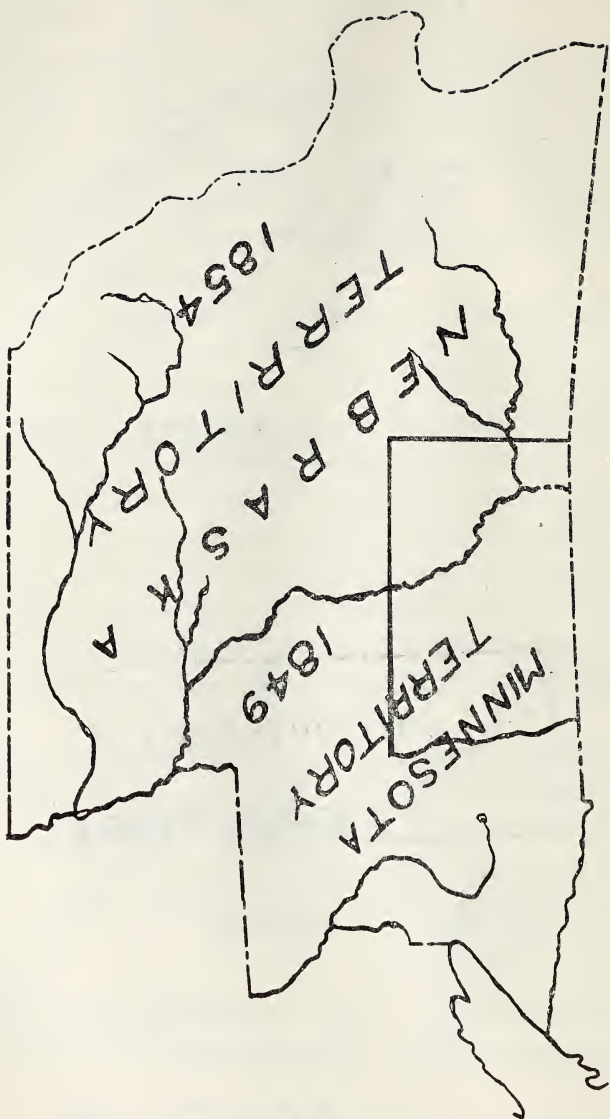


MAP~ 7.



MAP~ 8.

MAP~9.



was settled permanently.¹⁶ Thus it will be seen that during a period of twenty-one years, from 1861 to 1882, Dakota Territory underwent several changes in boundaries, and it was not until 1882 that it was reduced to include the territory now occupied by the two states of North and South Dakota.

At the general election in 1887 the question of dividing Dakota Territory into two states with the seventh standard parallel as the line of division received an affirmative vote. The Enabling Act giving federal sanction to this project was signed by the President on February 22, 1889. In accordance with its provisions a constitutional convention met at Bismarck on July 4, 1889, and drafted a constitution for North Dakota which was ratified at a special election in October. The proclamation issued by President Harrison on November 2, 1889, admitted North Dakota to statehood.

CHAPTER II

COUNTY BOUNDARIES FROM 1849 TO 1873.

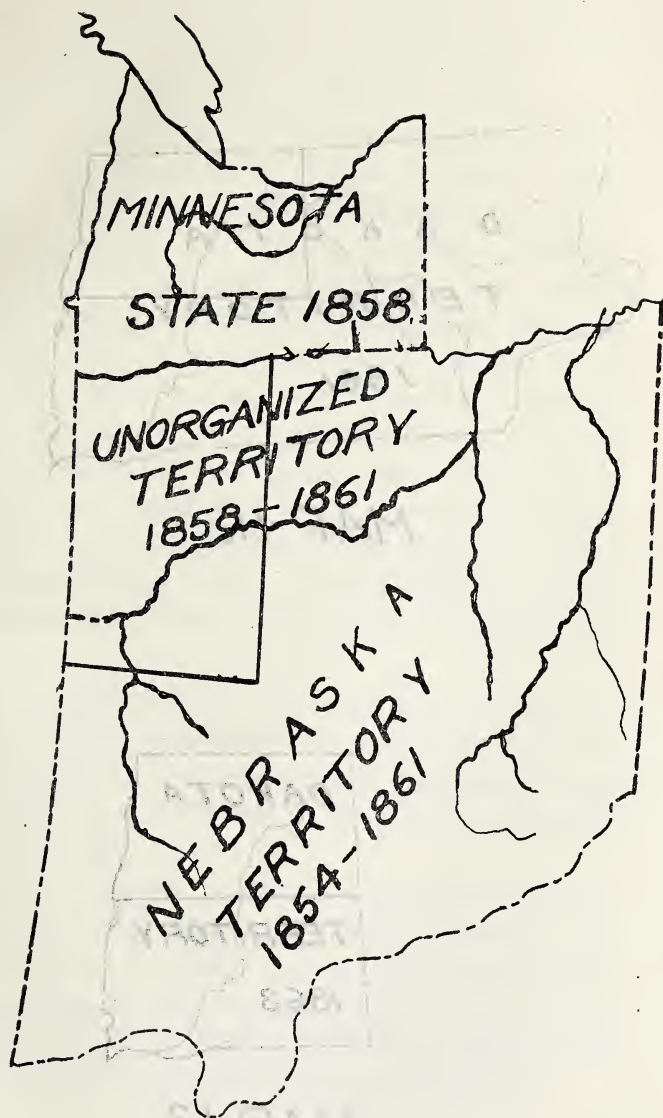
No counties were organized in the territory now comprised in North Dakota until the part east of the Missouri and White Earth rivers became a part of Minnesota Territory in 1849. The first legislative assembly passed a law on October 27, 1849, dividing Minnesota Territory into nine counties,

¹⁶ Map 14, opp. p. 176.

three of which were partly in the present North Dakota.¹ Pembina county was bounded on the north by the international boundary, on the west by White Earth and Missouri rivers, and on the south by the forty-seventh parallel of latitude. It extended eastward into Minnesota, as did both of the two other counties, Mahkahto and Wahnatah. Mahkahto county extended west to the Missouri river, and south from the forty-seventh parallel to the north boundary of Wahnatah county. The north boundary of Wahnatah county was a line running west from the mouth of the Crow Wing river. This line is almost coincident with the eighth standard parallel. Wahnatah county extended south as far as a line running due west of the mouth of Clear Water river, which line is almost identical with that between townships 122 and 123. This brought a large portion of Wahnatah county into South Dakota.² The early laws gave the White Earth river as a western boundary "North to the international boundary," which is a geographical impossibility, as the White Earth river has its source about thirty miles south of the boundary. On maps of these early territories and counties, therefore, a dotted line drawn from the actual source to the international boundary is used to complete the western boundary.

¹ Map 15, opp. p. 177.

² *Laws of Minnesota, 1849, Chapter 5.*



MAP-10.



MAP-11.



MAP-12.

Wahnatah and Mahkahto counties were never organized. Pembina county was first attached to Benton county for purposes of government, but was organized separately on March 4, 1852.

In 1851, Pembina county was enlarged to include all of the present North Dakota within Minnesota Territory.³ Pembina county was all the region north of Dakota county. Dakota county was all the land "south of a line beginning at the mouth of the Crow River and running up said river and the north branch thereof to its source and thence due west to the Missouri river."⁴ Since the source of the North Fork of the Crow river is about three miles north of the sixth standard parallel, Pembina county also included a strip of northern South Dakota east of the Missouri river. The second Pembina county was attached to Benton county for judicial purposes.

At the organization of Minnesota as a state in 1858, the region included in Pembina county became unorganized territory, and remained such until counties were created in the newly organized Dakota Territory.

The first counties in Dakota Territory were established by the first territorial legislative assembly meeting in 1862. Among them were four

³ It was not thought necessary to make a map of the second Pembina county, as its boundaries can be readily ascertained by reference to Map 15, opp. p. 177.

⁴ *Revised Statutes of Minnesota Territory, St. Paul, 1851*, p. 31.

counties laid out between the Red river on the east and the western line of range 62 on the west. Naming them in order from north to south they are Kittson,⁵ Chippewa,⁶ Stevens,⁷ and Sheyenne⁸ counties. The first three are wholly within North Dakota, but Sheyenne county extends into South Dakota. The southern boundary line of Kittson county is the northern line of township 154; that of Chippewa county, the northern line of township 144; and that of Stevens county, the northern line of township 134.

Kittson county, in which were located Pembina and St. Joseph, appears to have been the only county with white inhabitants, and few of these were citizens of the United States. St. Joseph was made the temporary county seat, and the governor organized Kittson county in 1862 by appointing the county commissioners. The latter completed the county organization in June, 1862. No representative from the Red river appeared at the capital during the legislative session of 1863-64. The Indian War of 1863 probably prevented the holding of any elections.⁹

A council bill introduced in December, 1863, and passed by both houses, repealed the act establishing the counties of Kittson, Sheyenne, Stevens, and Chippewa, for the reason that the counties

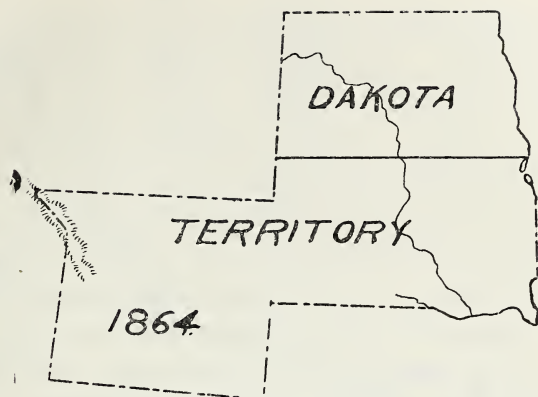
⁵ *Laws of Dakota, 1862* Chapter 17, Section 4. Map 16, opp. p. 178.

⁶ *Ib.*, Chapter 17, Section 3.

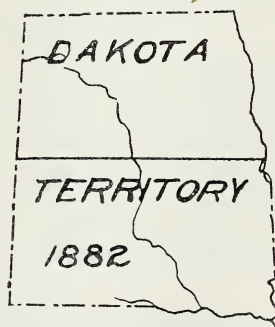
⁷ *Ib.*, Chapter 17, Section 2.

⁸ *Ib.*, Chapter 17, Section 1.

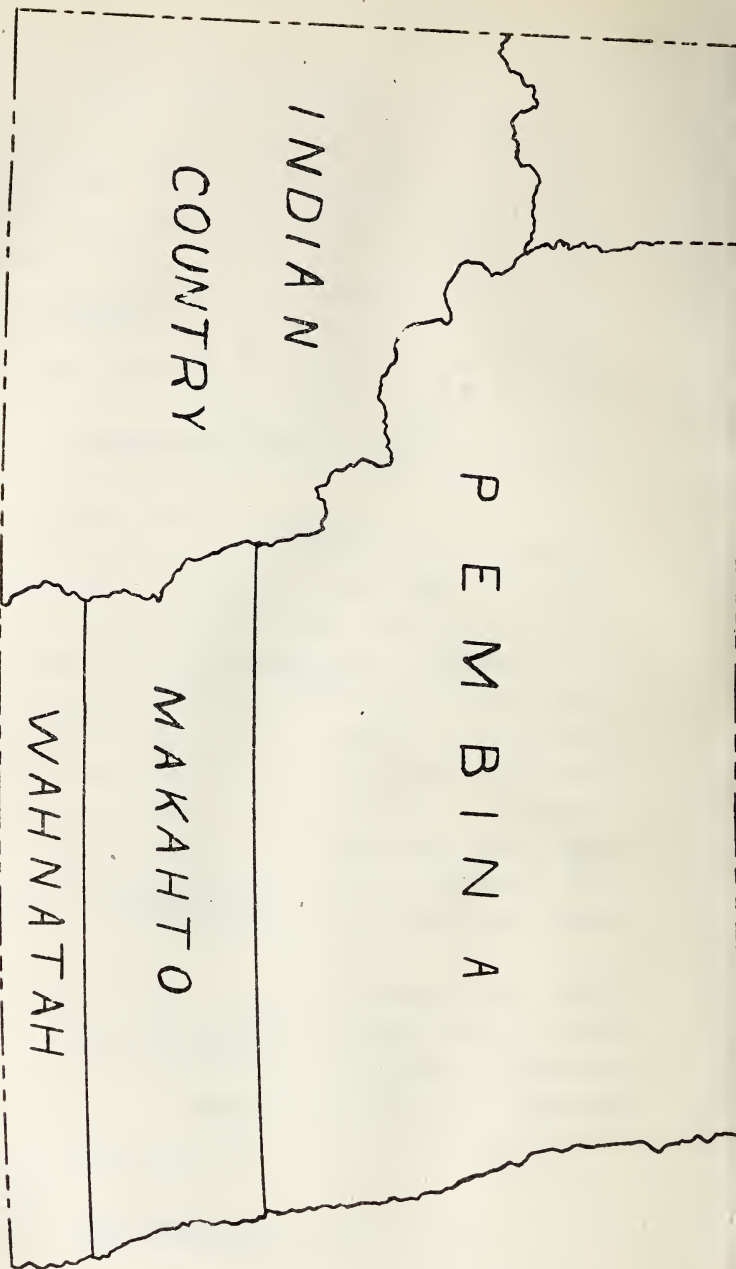
⁹ Kingsbury, *Dakota Territory, Chicago, 1915*, I., 92-3.



MAP-13.



MAP-14.



MAP~15

were in Indian territory and consequently were not under the jurisdiction of the territorial laws and courts.¹⁰

No new counties were organized in this region until the legislative session of 1866-67. At this time a portion of eastern North Dakota was created into Pembina county. This county included the territory ceded to the United States by the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians on April 12, 1864. It was bounded on the north by the international boundary, on the east by the Red river, on the south by the Sheyenne river, and on the west by the Sheyenne river, and by a line drawn from Poplar Grove to Lake Chicot, thence to the head of Salt river, and thence due north to the international boundary line.¹¹ The only evidence regarding organization available at present is that given by Arnold, who states that Pembina county was organized on August 12, 1867, officers were appointed, and Pembina was made the county seat.¹²

In the western part of Dakota Territory the county of Laramie was created, including all that portion of the Territory of Dakota west of the one hundred and fourth meridian west.¹³ The part of Laramie county in North Dakota was a narrow strip of land between the 104th meridian and the

¹⁰ Kingsbury, *Dakota Territory*, I., 94.

¹¹ *Laws of Dakota, 1866-67*, Chapter 15. Map 17, opp. p. 179.

¹² Arnold, *History of Grand Forks County, 1900*, page 53.

¹³ *Laws of Dakota, 1866-67*, Chapter 14.

present western boundary of the state.¹⁴ But since Dakota Territory from 1864 to 1868 included part of the present state of Wyoming, the greater part of Laramie county lay west of the present state of South Dakota. The division of the original Laramie county into the two counties of Laramie and Carter, with the dividing line at 107° 30', which was made by the legislature of 1867-68, did not affect the boundaries of that portion of Laramie county within the present state of North Dakota.

By the laws of 1870-71 almost all of North Dakota east of the Missouri river was divided into two counties, but the territory west of the river remained unorganized.¹⁵ A new Pembina county was created which included the region bounded by the Red river on the east, the ninth guide meridian on the west, the international boundary on the north, and the forty-sixth parallel on the south.¹⁶ South of Pembina county were Duel and Hanson counties. The greater part of their territories was in South Dakota, but they included the strip of North Dakota between the forty-sixth parallel and the seventh standard parallel. Duel county extended from the Red river to the seventh guide meridian,¹⁷ and Hanson county from the western boundary of Duel county to the ninth guide meridian.¹⁸ Extending westward

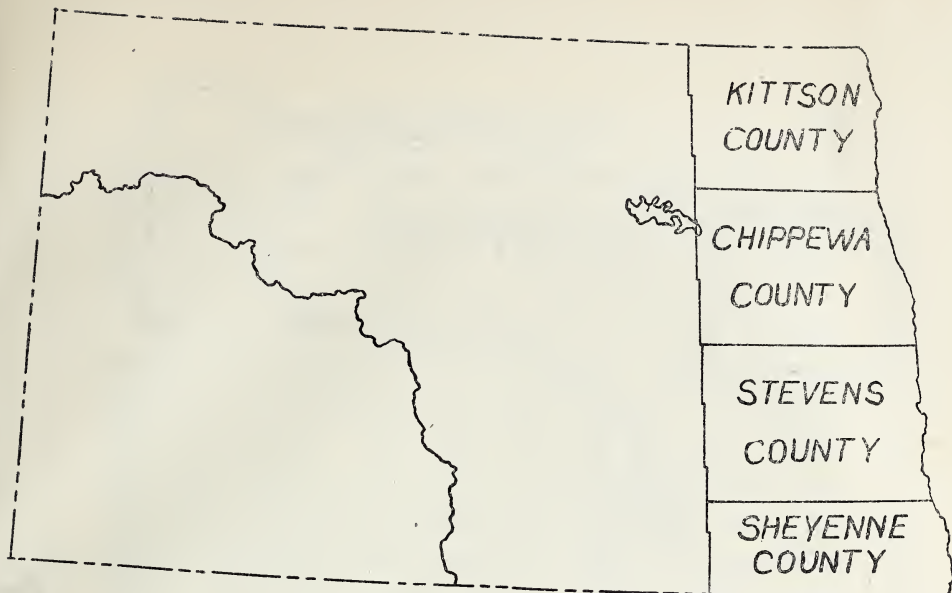
¹⁴ 104° 3' 1.35" West from Greenwich.

¹⁵ Map 18, opp. p. 180.

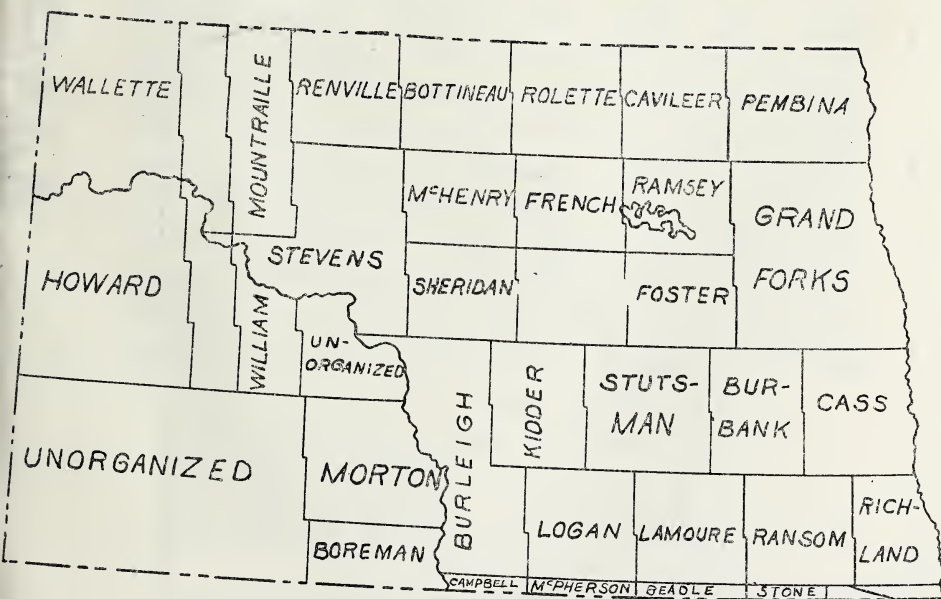
¹⁶ *Laws of Dakota, 1870-71*, Chapter 10, Section 13.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, Chapter 10, Section 12.

¹⁸ *Ib.*, Chapter 10, Section 14.

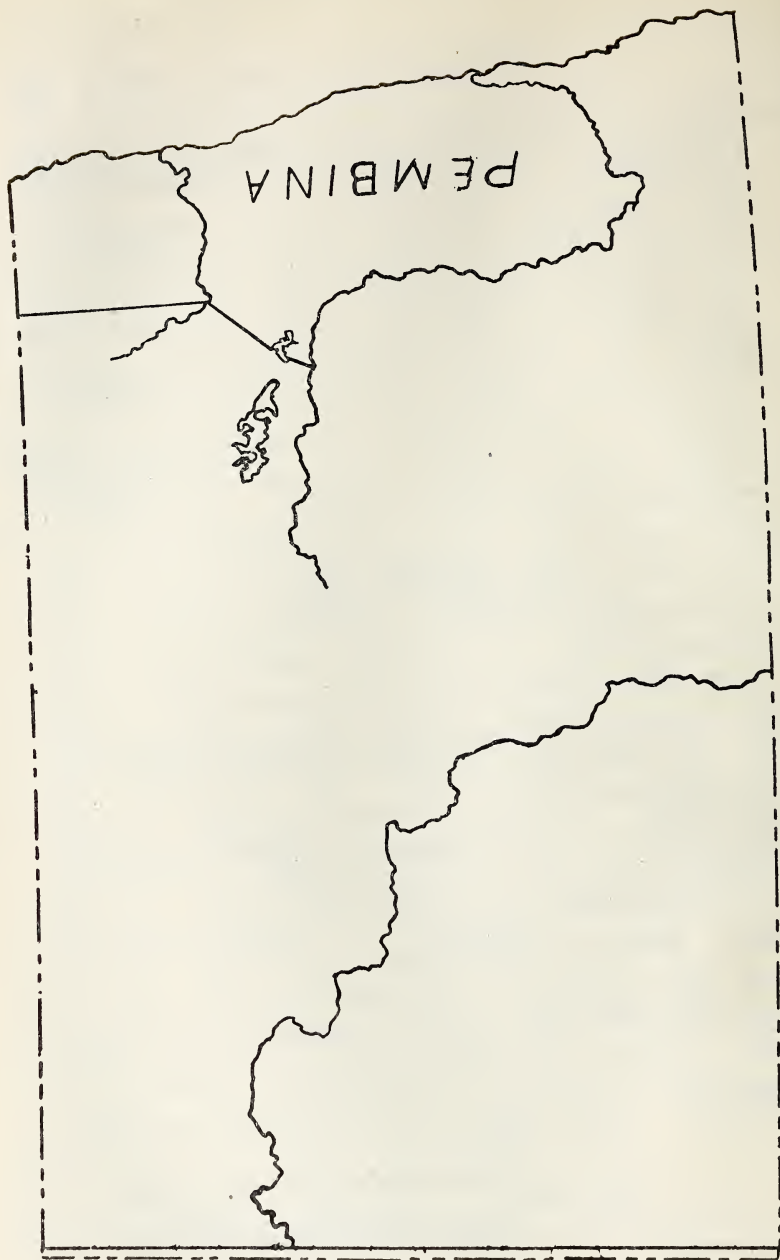


MAP-16



MAP-19

NOTE—The name of Gingras county is omitted in Map 19. Gingras county is between Sheridan and Foster counties.—[Ed.]



MAP-17

from the ninth guide meridian to the Missouri river and the western boundary of the territory, and southward from the international boundary line into South Dakota, was Buffalo county.¹⁹

By the laws of 1872-73, all of North Dakota east of the Missouri river, together with a large portion of the state west of the river, was divided into counties.²⁰ On the northern border of the territory was a row of five counties bounded on the north by the international boundary line and on the south by the fourteenth standard parallel. These counties, named from east to west, were Pembina county, lying between the Red river and the ninth guide meridian;²¹ Cavileer county, between the eighth and ninth guide meridians;²² Rolette county, between the ninth and tenth guide meridians;²³ Bottineau county, between the tenth and eleventh guide meridians;²⁴ and Renville county, between the eleventh and twelfth guide meridians.²⁵ South of Pembina county, with the same eastern and western boundaries, was Grand Forks county, which extended south to the eleventh standard parallel.²⁶ Three counties were laid out between the fourteenth standard parallel on the north and the line between

¹⁹ *Laws of Dakota, 1870-71*, Chapter 10, Section 6.

²⁰ Map 19, opp. p. 178.

²¹ *Laws of Dakota, 1872-73*, Chapter 20, Section 1.

²² *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 1.

²³ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 2.

²⁴ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 3.

²⁵ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 4.

²⁶ *Ib.*, Chapter 20, Section 2.

townships 150 and 151 on the south—Ramsey county, bounded on the east and west by the eighth and ninth guide meridians respectively;²⁷ French county, bounded by the ninth and tenth guide meridians;²⁸ and McHenry county, bounded by the tenth and eleventh guide meridians.²⁹ South of these three counties was another row of three counties of the same size bounded on the south by the eleventh standard parallel, and on the north by the line between townships 150 and 151. Foster county extended from the eighth to the ninth guide meridian;³⁰ Gingras county from the ninth to the tenth guide meridian,³¹ and Sheridan county from the tenth to the eleventh guide meridian.³² A group of four counties was included in the area bounded on the north by the eleventh standard parallel, on the east by the Red river, on the south by the ninth standard parallel, and on the west by the range line between ranges 75 and 76. Cass county extended from the Red river to the range line between ranges 55 and 56;³³ Burbank county from this last mentioned range line to the range line between ranges 61 and 62;³⁴ Stutsman county from the western boundary of Burbank county to the range line between ranges

²⁷ *Laws of Dakota, 1872-73*, Chapter 18, Section 10.

²⁸ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 9.

²⁹ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 8.

³⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 11.

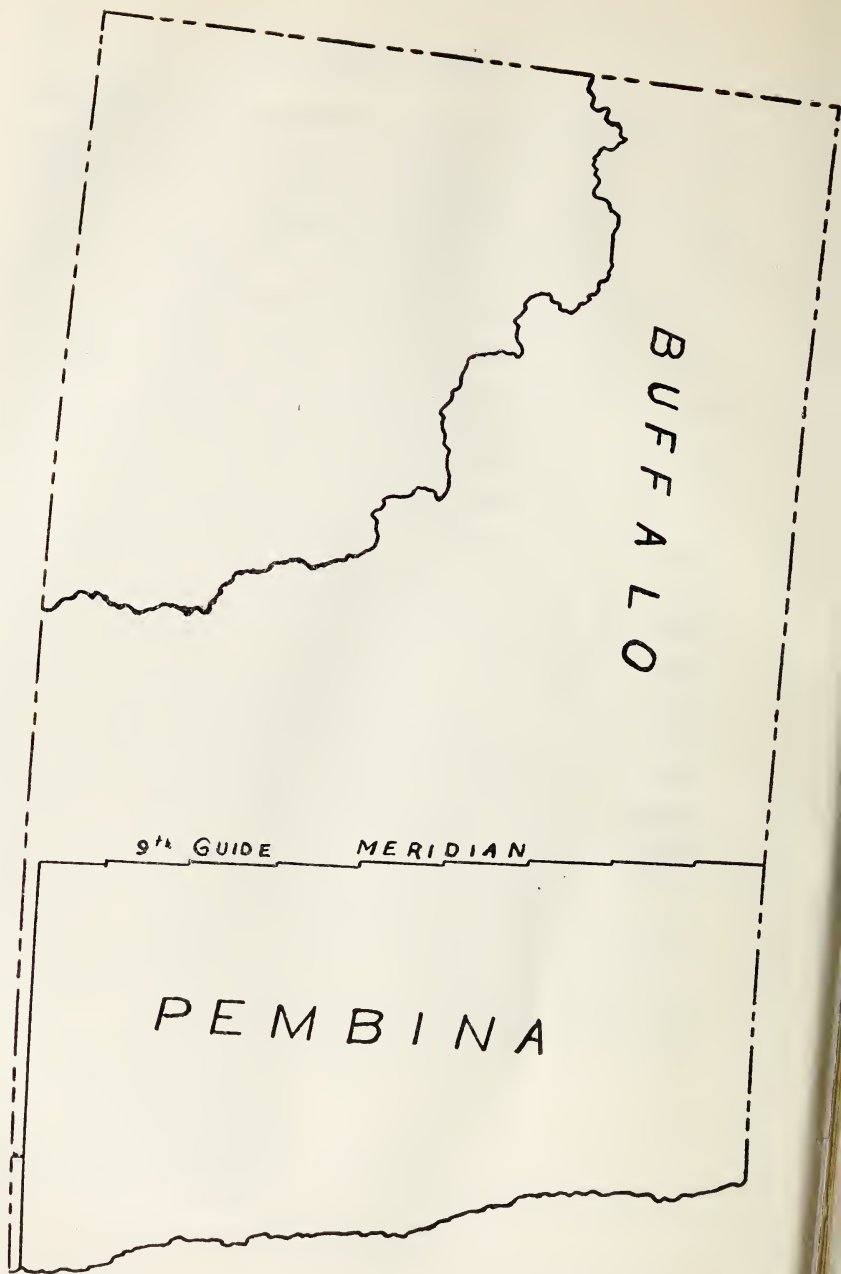
³¹ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 12.

³² *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 13.

³³ *Ib.*, Chapter 20, Section 3.

³⁴ *Ib.*, Chapter 20, Section 5.

MAP~18



69 and 70;³⁵ and Kidder county from the last mentioned range line to the range line between ranges 75 and 76.³⁶

Four counties occupied the territory between the Red river on the east and the tenth guide meridian on the west, and the ninth standard parallel on the north and the line between townships 129 and 130 on the south. Richland county extended from the Red river to the seventh guide meridian;³⁷ Ransom county from the seventh to the eighth guide meridian;³⁸ LaMoure county from the eighth to the ninth guide meridian;³⁹ and Logan county from the ninth to the tenth guide meridian.⁴⁰

Burleigh county was bounded on the north by the eleventh standard parallel, on the west by the Missouri river, on the south by the line between townships 129 and 130, and on the east by the west boundaries of Kidder and Logan counties.⁴¹

It was further provided that the counties of Richland, Ransom, LaMoure, Logan, and Burleigh, all of which extended south to the line between townships 129 and 130, "shall be, in all respects and for all purposes have, and exercise full jurisdiction, as far south as the forty-sixth

³⁵ *Laws of Dakota, 1872-73*, Chapter 20, Section 6.

³⁶ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 15.

³⁷ *Ib.*, Chapter 20, Section 4.

³⁸ *Ib.*, Chapter 20, Section 8.

³⁹ *Ib.*, Chapter 20, Section 7.

⁴⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 14.

⁴¹ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 16.

parallel of north latitude, over the strip of country south of their defined limits respectively.⁴² ”

South of this strip of territory there was another strip somewhat wider between the forty-sixth parallel and the seventh standard parallel, the present southern boundary line of North Dakota. This is divided up among four counties, (each of which extends southward into what is now the state of South Dakota), the Sisseton Indian reservation, and a triangular piece of land which is apparently in no county. These four counties, named from west to east, are Campbell county, extending from the Missouri river to the tenth meridian;⁴³ McPherson county, extending from the tenth to the ninth guide meridian;⁴⁴ Beadle county, extending from the ninth to the eighth guide meridian;⁴⁵ and Stone county, extending from the eighth guide meridian to the western boundary of the Sisseton reservation.⁴⁶ The portion of the Sisseton reservation in the present state of North Dakota is triangular in shape. There is nothing to indicate whether that part of the reservation which extends into the strip between the forty-sixth parallel and the line between townships 129 and 130 is under the jurisdiction of the county north of it, in common with the rest of the strip, but it is presumably excluded

⁴² *Laws of Dakota, 1872-73*, Chapter 18, Section 18.

⁴³ *Ib.*, Chapter 16, Section 36.

⁴⁴ *Ib.*, Chapter 16, Section 31.

⁴⁵ *Ib.*, Chapter 16, Section 25.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*, Chapter 16, Section 37.

from such jurisdiction by reason of its being part of an Indian reservation. East of the Sisseton reservation, extending to the Minnesota line, and south of the forty-sixth parallel is another small area which the lawmakers neglected to assign to any county.

Three more counties were created north of the Missouri river in the western part of the territory. They were Stevens, Mountraille, and Wallelte counties. Before defining the boundaries of these counties, it is necessary to make an explanation concerning the location of the guide meridians used as boundary lines.

Reference to a standard up-to-date map of North Dakota shows that while the seventh to twelfth guide meridians are seven ranges apart, the thirteenth to fifteenth meridians are only four ranges apart. The Manual of surveying instructions issued in 1855 prescribed guide meridians at intervals of seven ranges, but the Manual of 1881 designated "auxiliary meridians" four ranges apart.⁴⁷ Apparently, when the counties of 1873 were laid out, the meridians beyond the twelfth had not yet been surveyed, but the legislators took it for granted that they would be located as the first meridians had been. On map 19 and on the following maps where the same lines remain, the actual boundaries of the counties according to the

⁴⁷ Letter of D. K. Parrott, Acting Assistant Commissioner of General Land Office.

real location of the meridians are shown in black ink, and the theoretical boundaries in red ink.

Stevens county was bounded on the north by the fourteenth standard parallel, on the east by the eleventh guide meridian, and on the south by the eleventh standard parallel and the Missouri river. The western boundary was the twelfth guide meridian to its intersection with the township line dividing townships 150 and 151, thence west on said township line to the Missouri river. This boundary is not possible according to the actual location of the thirteenth guide meridian, but it is possible according to the supposed location.⁴⁸

Mountraille county was bounded on the west by the thirteenth guide meridian, on the south by the Missouri river and line between townships 150 and 151, on the east by the twelfth guide meridian, and on the north by the international boundary.⁴⁹

The northern and western boundaries of Wallette county coincided with those of the territory. On the south Wallette county was bounded by the Missouri river, and on the east by the thirteenth guide meridian.⁵⁰

The region south and west of the Missouri river was divided into three counties wholly within North Dakota, one county partly in the present state of North Dakota and partly in South Dakota,

⁴⁸ *Laws of Dakota, 1872-73*, Chapter 18, Section 7.

⁴⁹ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 5.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 18, Section 6.

and one large and one small tract of land unorganized into counties.

Williams county was bounded on the west by the thirteenth guide meridian, on the south by the tenth standard parallel, on the east by the twelfth guide meridian and on the north by the Missouri river.⁵¹

Howard county had for its western boundary the west boundary of the territory; for its southern boundary, the tenth standard parallel; for its eastern boundary, the thirteenth guide meridian; and for its northern boundary, the Missouri river.⁵²

Morton county extended from the eighth standard parallel on the south to the tenth standard parallel on the north, and from the twelfth guide meridian on the west to the Missouri river on the east.⁵³

South of Morton county was Boreman county, which extended south into South Dakota to the sixth standard parallel. Its North Dakota boundaries were the eighth standard parallel on the north, the twelfth guide meridian on the west, and the Missouri river on the east.⁵⁴

A tract of land lying between the twelfth guide meridian on the west, the tenth standard parallel on the south, and the Missouri river on the north

⁵¹ *Laws of Dakota, 1872-73*, Chapter 19, Section 10.

⁵² *Ib.*, Chapter 19, Section 10.

⁵³ *Ib.*, Chapter 19, Section 11.

⁵⁴ *Ib.*, Chapter 19, Section 9.

and east was left unorganized, altho there are counties on every side of it.⁵⁵

The larger area of land not organized into counties by the law of 1873 is located in the southwestern corner of the present state. It extends from the western boundary of the territory to the twelfth guide meridian and south from the tenth standard parallel to the southern boundary of the state.⁵⁶

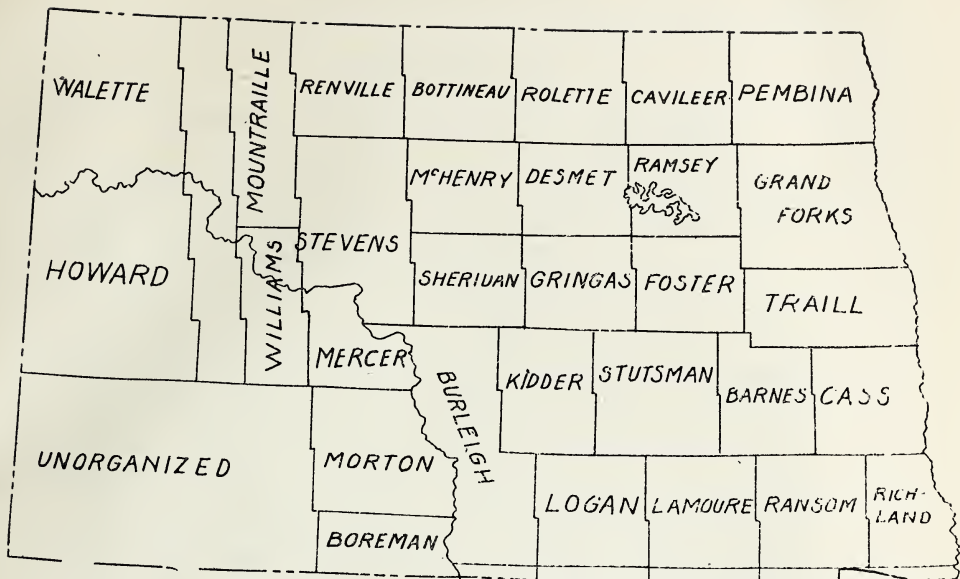
By the law of 1873, then, there were created twenty-seven counties wholly within the limits of the present state of North Dakota, and five partly within the state, and only two tracts were left unorganized. It is interesting to know the reason for this division of the unsettled and unsurveyed territory into counties, which are organizations presupposing some need for government and some means of operating administrative machinery.

In order to facilitate the sale of bonds for the Northern Pacific railroad, counties were laid out and maps were made to give the impression of a well settled and prosperous region, supplying the new road with heavy traffic, and thus assuring good returns on all investments in the bonds of the road. The capital was named Bismarck to flatter the new Chancellor of united Germany and attract the favorable notice of German capital.⁵⁷

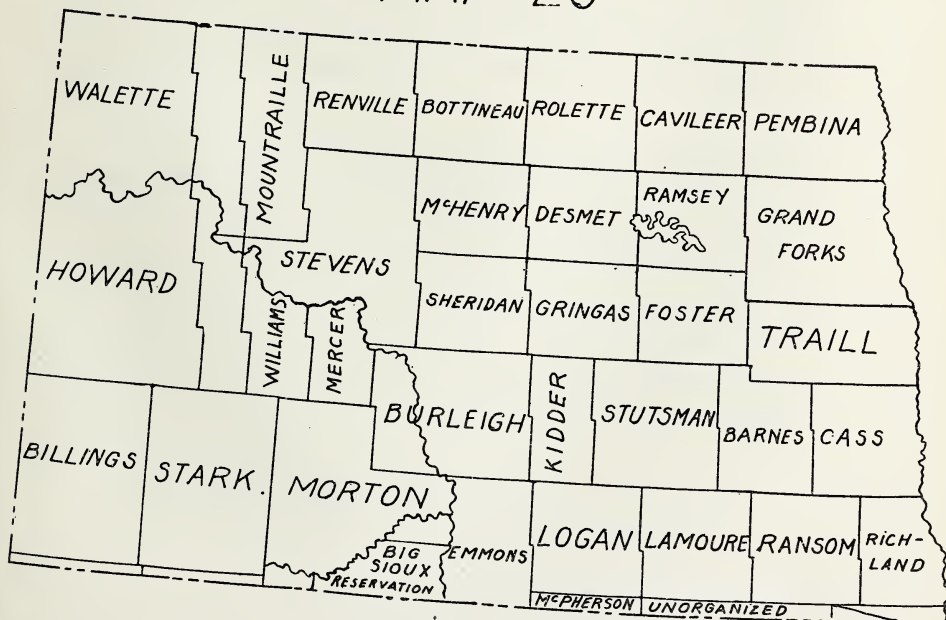
⁵⁵ *Laws of Dakota, 1872-73*, Chapter 19, Section 8.

⁵⁶ Map 19, opp. p. 178.

⁵⁷ This statement is made on the authority of E. A. Williams of Bismarck.



MAP-20



MAP-21

CHAPTER III

COUNTY BOUNDARIES, 1874-1889.

In the laws passed by the legislative assembly of 1874-75 four new county names appear: Mercer, DeSmet, Barnes, and Traill.¹

The smaller area left unorganized by the laws of 1873 was created into Mercer county. The boundaries were defined as the twelfth standard parallel on the west, the forty-seventh parallel of north latitude on the south, and the Missouri river on the north and east.² According to the law of 1873, the north boundary of Morton county was the tenth standard parallel, and since this boundary was not amended in 1874-75, it evidently stood. This left a narrow strip between the tenth standard parallel and forty-seventh parallel, between Morton and Mercer counties, belonging to no county.

The boundaries given for DeSmet county³ are identical with those defined for French county in 1873. French county, therefore, passes out of existence in 1875 and is replaced by DeSmet county. In like manner the Burbank county of 1873 is changed into Barnes county⁴ The boundaries of the latter two, however, are not the same on the north, owing to the creation of a new county,

¹ Map 20, opp. p. 187.

² *Laws of Dakota, 1874-75*, Chapter 30, Section 1.

³ *Ib.*, Chapter 30, Section 3.

⁴ *Ib.*, Chapter 30, Section 4.

Traill, from parts of the original Grand Forks, Burbank, and Cass counties.

The boundaries of Traill county were as follows: on the north, the twelfth standard parallel; on the west, the eighth guide meridian; on the south, the township line between townships 143 and 144; and on the east, the Red river.⁵ Traill county was made up from the territory between the eleventh and twelfth standard parallels and between the Red river and the eighth guide meridian, taken from Grand Forks county; four townships, No. 144, ranges 56, 57, 58, and 59, from Burbank county, and the northern tier of seven townships numbered 144, ranges 49 to 55, from Cass county.

The changes in county boundaries made at the legislative session of 1879 were in the southwestern quarter of the state and along the southern border in the eastern part.⁶ The southern part of Burleigh county was made into a new county, Emmons, and the boundaries of Burleigh county were changed. Emmons county was bounded on the north by the ninth standard parallel, on the west by the east bank of the Missouri river at low water mark, on the south by the seventh standard parallel, and on the east by the tenth guide meridian. The extension of Emmons county southward to the seventh standard parallel eliminated

⁵ *Laws of Dakota, 1874-75*, Chapter 32, Section 1.

⁶ Map 21, opp. p. 187.

from North Dakota Territory the narrow strip of Campbell county which had occupied the region between the seventh standard parallel and the forty-sixth parallel of latitude since 1873.⁷

The new Burleigh county was extended eastward to the tenth guide meridian, cutting off from Kidder county two rows of townships numbered from 137 to 144 in ranges 74 and 75. The north boundary continued to be the eleventh standard parallel, and the south boundary was fixed at the ninth standard parallel. The western boundary was fixed as follows: beginning where the eleventh standard parallel intersects the west bank of the Missouri river, "thence south along the west bank of said river to a point where the range line between ranges 83 and 84 produced would intersect said river;" thence south on this range line to the ninth standard parallel.⁸ Both Mercer and Morton counties lost several of their eastern townships by this new arrangement.

The boundaries of Morton county were also changed. The southern boundary began at the mouth of the Cannon Ball river, where said river empties into the Missouri river, and proceeded up the river along the boundary of the Big Sioux reservation to the one hundred and second degree of west longitude. The western boundary was this degree of longitude, and the northern was the

⁷ *Laws of Dakota, 1879*, Chapter 11, Section 2. *Laws of Dakota, 1873*, Chapter 16, Section 36, Map 19, opp. p. 178.

⁸ *Laws of Dakota, 1879*, Chapter 11, Section 1.

tenth standard parallel. The eastern boundary was, "the west line of Burleigh county to the southwest corner thereof, thence east to the west bank of the Missouri river at low water mark, and thence south down said river to place of beginning."⁹ It may be observed that the Missouri river between Morton and Emmons counties was expressly excluded from the jurisdiction of any county. In most cases it was customary to extend county boundaries to the center of the main channel of the rivers.

No provision was made in 1879 to incorporate within county boundaries the strip of territory included between the forty-seventh parallel of latitude and the tenth standard parallel, between Mercer and Morton counties.

Most of the large area of land in the southwestern part of the present state which had heretofore remained unorganized was in 1879 made into two large counties, Stark and Billings. Stark county included the territory lying between the 102nd and 103rd meridians of longitude and between the forty-sixth and forty-seventh parallels of latitude.¹⁰ Billings county extended from the 103rd meridian of longitude to the western boundary of the territory, with the same northern and southern boundaries as Stark county.¹¹ By this law the southern boundary of

⁹ *Laws of Dakota, 1879*, Chapter 11, Section 3.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 11, Section 4.

¹¹ *Ib.*, Chapter 11, Section 5.

Howard county and of that part of Williams county north of Stark county was necessarily moved from the tenth standard parallel to the forty-seventh parallel, altho the law makes no specific statement of this fact. The two townships of Williams county north of Morton county continued to have the tenth standard parallel as their southern boundary. The strip of land south of Billings and Stark counties was in no county.¹²

Along the southern border of the state east of the Missouri river several changes in county boundaries occurred in 1879. Mention has already been made of the disappearance of Campbell county of North Dakota Territory. Two new counties were created in the present state of South Dakota. Day county extended from the western boundary of the Sisseton and Wahpeton Indian reservation to the eighth guide meridian, and from the fifth to the seventh standard parallel.¹³ Brown county extended from Day county to the line between ranges 65 and 66, and from the fifth to the seventh standard parallel.¹⁴ This change evidently left the strip from the Sisseton Indian reservation to McPherson county, south of the forty-sixth parallel, in no county. McPherson county continued as before.

¹² Map 21, opp. p. 187.

¹³ *Laws of Dakota, 1879*, Chapter 12, Section 14.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, Chapter 12, Section 15.

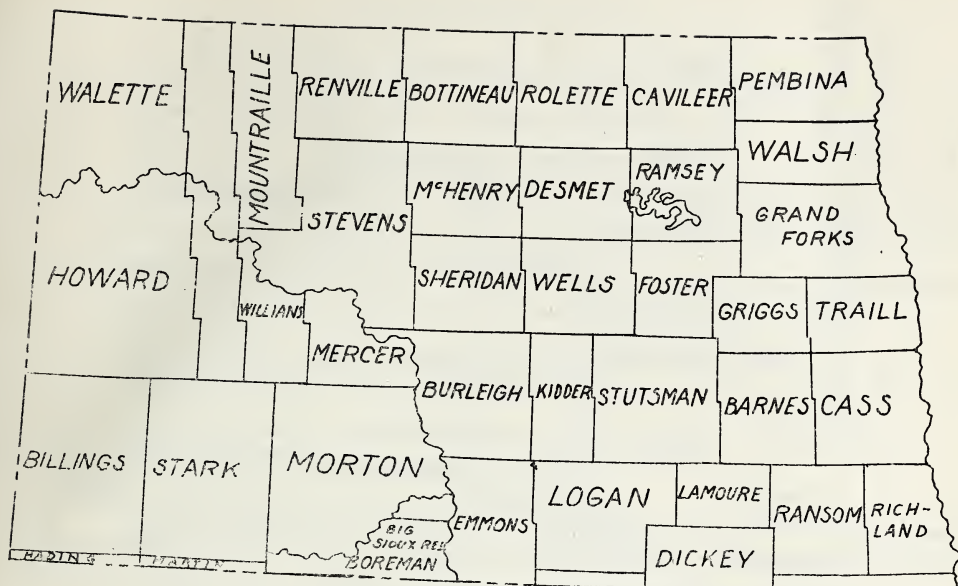
Several important changes were made in the county boundaries during the legislative session of 1881.¹⁵ A new county created at this time was Dickey. It included the territory lying between the seventh and eighth standard parallels and extending from the line between ranges 58 and 59 to the line between ranges 66 and 67.¹⁶ The largest part of this region, twenty-one townships, had formerly belonged to LaMoure county, and Ransom county also made contribution of three of its southwest townships. The extension of Dickey county to the seventh standard parallel brought within county limits a large part of the land left outside of any county by the laws of 1879.

LaMoure county was made much smaller, for not only did it lose its three southern rows of townships to Dickey county, but it also had eight townships on the west attached to Logan county. As part compensation for these losses, it gained a row of four townships on the east formerly belonging to Ransom county. The new boundaries of LaMoure county were as follows: on the north, the ninth standard parallel; on the west, the line between ranges 64 and 65; on the south, the eighth standard parallel; and on the east, the line between ranges 58 and 59.¹⁷

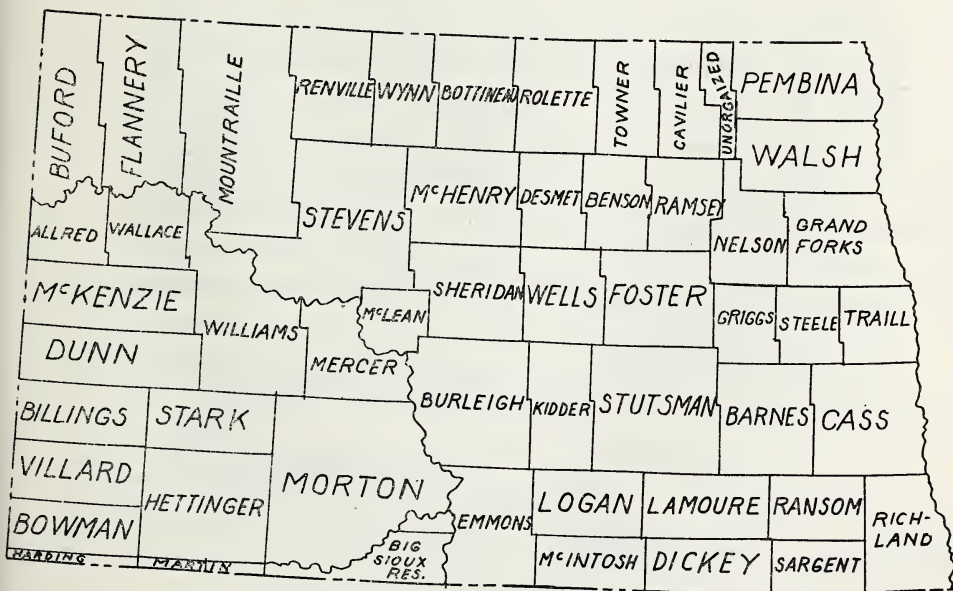
¹⁵ Map 22, opp. p. 192.

¹⁶ *Laws of Dakota, 1881*, Chapter 40, Section 1.

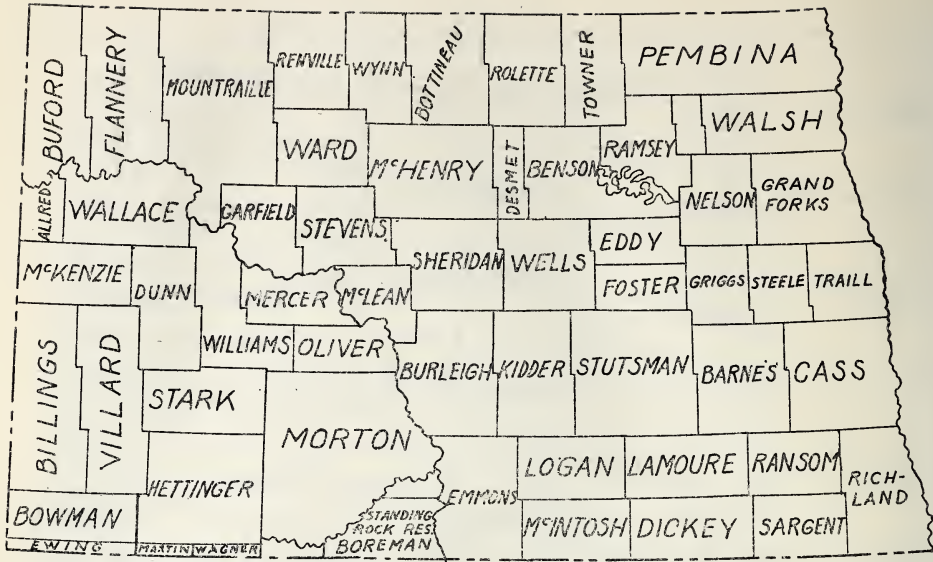
¹⁷ *Ib.*, Chapter 44, Section 1.



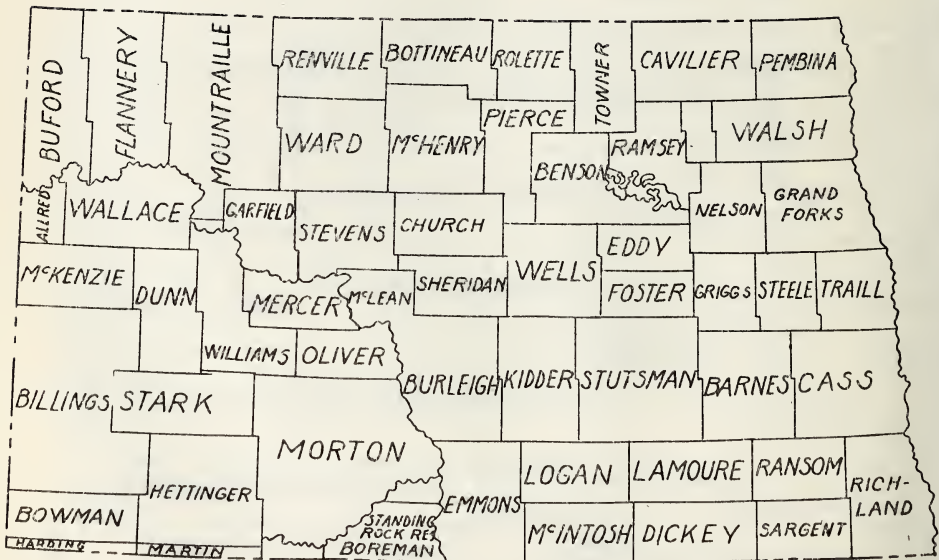
MAP-22



MAP-23



MAP-24



MAP-25

Griggs county was created out of territory formerly belonging to Foster, Barnes, and Traill counties. Its boundaries were described thus: on the north, the line between townships 148 and 149; on the west, the line between ranges 61 and 62; on the south, the line between townships 143 and 144; and on the east, the line between ranges 55 and 56. Foster county lost eight of its southeastern townships, Barnes county two of its northwestern townships, and Traill county twenty of its western townships.¹⁸

The name of the county known as Gingras since 1873, was changed to Wells.¹⁹

The first instance where a law creating a new county out of old counties was submitted to the voters for ratification was that of Walsh county. The proposed Walsh county was to be that district extending from the Red river to the line between ranges 59 and 60, and from the line between townships 158 and 159 to the line between townships 154 and 155.²⁰ A special election was called within the proposed new county for the first monday in May 1881. A canvas of the vote held by the County Commissioners of Pembina county on May 20, 1881, showed 293 votes in favor of the new county and only 8 votes against it. Accordingly, Walsh county was created.

¹⁸ *Laws of Dakota, 1881*. Chapter 41, Section 1.

¹⁹ *Ib.*, Chapter 53, Section 1.

²⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 51, Section 1.

An act was passed, "restoring the boundaries of Mercer county." The western boundary was now the twelfth guide meridian; the southern boundary, the tenth standard parallel; and the northern and eastern boundaries, the Missouri river. This act corrected the southern boundary so that the strip between the tenth standard parallel and the forty-seventh parallel, formerly in no county, was made a part of Mercer county.²¹

Morton county was enlarged by having the northern boundary, the tenth standard parallel, extend to the Missouri river, and by having the Missouri river for its eastern boundary.²² The land west of the Missouri river given to Burleigh county by the law of 1879 was now restored to Mercer and Morton counties.

South of Billings and Stark counties were created two new counties, Harding and Martin. They lay almost wholly in the present state of South Dakota, the only part of their territories within North Dakota being the strip between their northern boundary, the forty-sixth parallel of latitude, and the seventh standard parallel. Harding county extended from the western boundary of the territory to the one hundred and third meridian,²³ and Martin county from the one

²¹ *Laws of Dakota, 1881*, Chapter 49, Section 1.

²² *Ib.*, Chapter 50, Section 1.

²³ *Ib.*, Chapter 43, Section 1.

hundred and third to the one hundred and second meridian.²⁴

A greater number of changes in county boundaries were made in 1883 than at any time since the general districting of the state in 1873, and the changes occurred in all sections of the state.²⁵

The creation of Benson county out of territory formerly belonging to DeSmet and Ramsey counties reduced the size of the two latter counties. Benson county was bounded on the north by the fourteenth standard parallel; on the west by the range line between ranges 69 and 70; on the south, by the line between townships 150 and 151; and on the east by a line running north from the southern boundary between ranges 65 and 66 to the thirteenth standard parallel, thence east on said thirteenth standard parallel to the section line between sections 32 and 33 in township 153 north, range 65 west; thence north on the section line running between sections 32, 33, 28, 29, 20, 21, 16, 17, 8, 9, 4, and 5 respectively in townships 153 and 154 north, range 65 west, to the line between townships 154 and 155; thence west on said township line to the line between ranges 65 and 66; thence north on said range line to a point where the said range line intersects the fourteenth standard parallel.²⁶ This eastern boundary of Benson county formed the western

²⁴ *Laws of Dakota, 1881*, Chapter 48, Section 1.

²⁵ Map 23, opp. p. 192.

²⁶ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 12, Section 1.

boundary of Ramsey county.²⁷ On the north, Ramsey county's boundary was the fourteenth standard parallel; on the south, the line between townships 150 and 151. The eastern boundary of Ramsey county was described as follows: beginning at the southeast corner of township 151 north, range 62 west; thence running north on the line between ranges 61 and 62 to the thirteenth standard parallel; thence east on the thirteenth standard parallel to the southeast corner of township 153 north, range 61 west; thence north on the line between ranges 60 and 61 to the fourteenth standard parallel. DeSmet county extended from the fourteenth standard parallel to the line between townships 150 and 151, and from the tenth guide meridian to the line between ranges 69 and 70.²⁸ DeSmet county contributed eighteen townships and Ramsey county six and two-thirds townships to form Benson county. Ramsey county also lost eight townships on the east, two of them going to a new county named Nelson.

Nelson county was bounded on the north by the line between townships 154 and 155; on the east by the line between ranges 56 and 57; on the south, by the twelfth standard parallel; and on the west by a line beginning at the north boundary and running south on the line between

²⁷ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 12, Section 3.

²⁸ *Ib.*, Chapter 12, Section 4.

ranges 60 and 61 until it intersects the thirteenth standard parallel; thence west on said parallel to the range line between ranges 61 and 62, thence south on this range line to the southern boundary.²⁹

Foster county lost to Nelson county the four townships projecting out on the northeast, but its area was increased by the accession of two rows of townships on the west formerly belonging to Wells county.³⁰ Foster county now included the territory extending from the line between townships 150 and 151 to the eleventh standard parallel, and from the line between ranges 61 and 62 to the line between ranges 68 and 69.

LaMoure county was also increased in size by the addition of eight townships on the west belonging to Logan county in 1881. LaMoure county was bounded by the ninth standard parallel on the north, the ninth guide meridian on the west, the eighth standard parallel on the south, and the line between ranges 58 and 59 on the east.³¹

The southern half of Logan county was made into McIntosh county, extending from the seventh to the eighth standard parallel and from the ninth to the tenth guide meridian.³² Under this law, McPherson county, which had owned the strip of territory between the forty-sixth parallel

²⁹ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 27, Section 1.

³⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 20, Section 1.

³¹ *Ib.*, Chapter 24, Section 1.

³² *Ib.*, Chapter 26, Section 1.

and the seventh standard parallel since 1873, came wholly within the limits of the present state of South Dakota.

Ransom county was likewise divided into two equal parts, the southern half receiving the name of Sargent county. No other boundaries of Ransom county were altered except the southern, which now became the eighth standard parallel. Sargent county was to comprise the region lying between the seventh and eighth standard parallels, and between the seventh guide meridian and the line between ranges 58 and 59.³³ This brought the strip of territory on the southern border, which had been in no county, into Sargent county. The part of the Sisseton and Wahpeton Indian Reservation within Sargent county was excluded from its jurisdiction. It was further provided that this division of Ransom county should be carried out only when ratified by a majority vote of the voters of Ransom county at a special election to be held on the second Monday in April, 1883.³⁴

Richland county was extended south to the forty-sixth parallel,³⁵ and south of Richland county was created Roberts county, which included in North Dakota only the strip of land between the seventh standard parallel and the forty-sixth

³³ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 32, Section 1.

³⁴ The results of the vote could not be obtained at the time this was written.

³⁵ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 30, Section 5.

parallel of latitude.³⁶ In 1883 all the southern row of counties east of the Missouri river, except Richland county, extended to the seventh standard parallel, the future dividing line between North and South Dakota, and there was no territory on the southern border left outside the boundaries of some county.

In the northern part of the state a new county, Towner, was established out of territory from Rolette and Cavalier counties. From Rolette county were taken its two eastern rows of townships, and from Cavalier its two western rows. Towner county included the region extending from the fourteenth standard parallel to the international boundary and from the line between ranges 64 and 65 to the line between ranges 68 and 69.³⁷ Rolette county was now bounded on the north by the international boundary, on the west by the tenth guide meridian, on the south by the fourteenth standard parallel, and on the east by the line between ranges 68 and 69.³⁸ Cavalier county extended from the fourteenth standard parallel to the international boundary. The western boundary was the line between ranges 64 and 65, and the eastern was the line between ranges 60 and 61, beginning at the fourteenth standard parallel, and running north to the southeast corner of township 160, range 61; thence running

³⁶ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 30, Section 2.

³⁷ *Ib.*, Chapter 37, Section 1.

³⁸ *Ib.*, Chapter 37, Section 4.

west to the southeast corner of township 160, range 62; and thence north on the line between ranges 61 and 62 to the international boundary.³⁹

The change in the eastern boundary of Cavalier county, whereby eleven full and two fractional townships were left out of the county at the east, and the change in the northeastern boundary of Ramsey county, whereby two townships north of the newly created Nelson county, formerly a part of Ramsey county, were not included in Ramsey county, were undoubtedly made in anticipation of the creation of two new counties, Harvey and Nicklaus. Harvey county was to include the district bounded on the north by the international boundary, on the west by the line between ranges 61 and 62, on the south by the line between townships 159 and 160, and on the east by the line between ranges 56 and 57.⁴⁰ The proposition to create Harvey county was to be voted upon at a special election in Pembina county not later than June 10, 1883. The county commissioners' records for Pembina county for July, August, and September of 1883 contain no reference to the creation of Harvey county.⁴¹ Moreover, no mention of this county is found in later laws, and the presumption is that the proposition failed. Nicklaus county was to extend from the line between

³⁹ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 37, Section 3.

⁴⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 22, Section 1.

⁴¹ Letter of W. W. Felson, auditor of Pembina county, dated April 1, 1919.

townships 154 and 155 to the line between townships 159 and 160, and from the line between ranges 60 and 61 to the line between ranges 56 and 57.⁴² It would thus include portions of the former counties of Walsh, Pembina, Ramsey, and Cavalier. A special election was to be held in Walsh county within six months after March 8, 1883, to vote on the question. The election, held June 14, 1883, resulted in a vote of 1,640 against, and 19 for the proposed new county.⁴³ Accordingly, the law creating Nickeus county failed to be ratified.

Since both proposals were lost at the elections, a number of townships between Pembina and Walsh counties and Cavalier and Ramsey counties were put outside the bounds of any county. They could not return to Cavalier and Ramsey counties, because the law revising the boundaries of these counties had made no provision for their inclusion in the event of a failure of the voters to sanction the creation of Harvey and Nickeus counties. On the other hand, the townships it was proposed to cut off from Pembina and Walsh counties and put into the new counties, automatically remained in the old counties when the new counties were not created, for no laws were passed by the legislature altering the boundaries of Pembina and Walsh counties, except the laws

⁴² *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 29, Section 1.

⁴³ Letter of W. J. LaMarre, auditor of Walsh county, dated April 7, 1919.

creating Harvey and Nickeus counties, which failed to pass by the people's vote. Accordingly, townships 155 to 164 of range 60 and townships 160 to 164 of range 61 were left outside county boundaries.⁴⁴

There is one other case in the laws of 1883 where the creation of a new county was made provisional upon ratification by the electors' vote. Steele county was made up of portions of Griggs and Traill counties, ten townships being taken from each of these two counties. Steele county was bounded on the north by the twelfth standard parallel; on the west by the line between ranges 57 and 58; on the south by the line between townships 143 and 144, and on the east by the line between ranges 53 and 54.⁴⁵ A special election was called in Griggs and Traill counties for the second day of June, 1883. Steele county received a majority vote, and was accordingly created.⁴⁶

The boundaries assigned to Griggs, Steele, and Traill counties by the laws of 1883 have not been changed up to the present time.

Wynn county was created out of territory formerly included within Renville and Bottineau counties, half of the territory of the new county being taken from each of the old ones. Wynn

⁴⁴ A map of Dakota Territory (1884, Rand, McNally and Company, Chicago), follows this interpretation.

⁴⁵ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 36, Section 1.

⁴⁶ Vote: for, 1,556; against, 520. Letter of G. J. Mustado, auditor of Steele County.

county extended from the fourteenth standard parallel to the international boundary, and from the line between ranges 78 and 79 to the line between ranges 82 and 83.⁴⁷

McLean county was created out of parts of Stevens, Sheridan, and Burleigh counties. Its boundaries were as follows: Beginning in the center of the main channel of the Missouri river at the point of intersection of the south line of township 144 north, range 81 west; thence east on said line to the southeast corner of said township; thence north to the eleventh standard parallel; thence east to the southeast corner of township 145 of range 80; thence north to the northeast corner of township 147, range 80; thence west to the center of Snake Creek; thence down the center of said creek to the center of the main channel of the Missouri river; thence down the center of the main channel of said river to the place of beginning.⁴⁸

In 1883 several of the large counties in the western part of the territory were divided into smaller counties. Wallethe county was divided into Buford and Flannery counties; Howard county into Allred, Wallace, McKenzie, and Dunn counties; Billings county into Billings, Villard and Bowman counties; and Stark county into Stark and Hettinger counties.

Buford county consisted of all that portion of

⁴⁷ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 41, Section 1.

⁴⁸ *Ib.*, Chapter 25, Section 1.

Wallette county bounded on the north by the international boundary line; on the east by the line between ranges 99 and 100; on the south by the center of the main channel of the Missouri river; and on the west by the western boundary of Dakota Territory.⁴⁹

Flannery county was all that portion of Wallette county bounded on the north by the international boundary line, on the east by the line between ranges 94 and 95; on the south by the center of the main channel of the Missouri river, and on the west by the line between ranges 99 and 100.⁵⁰

Allred and Wallace counties both had the Missouri river as a northern boundary and the twelfth standard parallel as a southern boundary. Allred county extended from the territorial boundary on the west to the line between ranges 99 and 100 on the east.⁵¹ Wallace county extended from the line between ranges 99 and 100 on the west to the line between ranges 94 and 95 on the east.⁵²

McKenzie and Dunn counties had a common western boundary, the western boundary of the territory, and a common eastern boundary, the line between ranges 94 and 95. McKenzie county was bounded on the north by the twelfth standard parallel and on the south by the eleventh standard

⁴⁹ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 39, Section 6.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 39, Section 5.

⁵¹ *Ib.*, Chapter 39, Section 4.

⁵² *Ib.*, Chapter 39, Section 3.

parallel.⁵³ Dunn county extended from the forty-seventh parallel of latitude on the south to the eleventh standard parallel on the north.⁵⁴

Billings, Villard, and Bowman counties were all of the same size, and all were bounded on the west of the western boundary of the territory, and on the east by the one hundred and third meridian of longitude. Bowman county extended from the parallel of 46° to the parallel of $46^{\circ} 20'$;⁵⁵ Villard county from the parallel of $46^{\circ} 20'$ to the parallel of $46^{\circ} 40'$,⁵⁶ and Billings county from the parallel of $46^{\circ} 40'$ to the parallel of 47° .⁵⁷

Hettinger county included the southern part of Stark county lying between the ninth standard parallel on the north and the forty-sixth parallel of latitude on the south, and between the one hundred second meridian of longitude on the east and the one hundred third meridian of longitude on the west.⁵⁸

Three counties were laid out south of the forty-sixth parallel and extending south into the present South Dakota. Ewing county extended from the western boundary of the territory to the one hundred third degree of longitude;⁵⁹ Martin county

⁵³ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 39, Section 2.

⁵⁴ *Ib.*, Chapter 39, Section 1.

⁵⁵ *Ib.*, Chapter 38, Section 2.

⁵⁶ *Ib.*, Chapter 38, Section 1.

⁵⁷ *Ib.*, Chapter 38, Section 5.

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, Chapter 39, Section 7.

⁵⁹ *Ib.*, Chapter 38, Section 3.

from 103° to $102^{\circ} 30'$; ⁶⁰ and Wagner county from $102^{\circ} 30'$ to 102° . ⁶¹

Another county which had only a small strip of its territory in North Dakota was Schnasse county, bounded on the west by the hundred second degree of longitude, on the north by the Cannon Ball river, and on the east by the meridian of $101^{\circ} 30'$. ⁶² The creation of Schnasse county in this hitherto unorganized territory moved the western boundary of Boreman county east about six miles, from the line between ranges 87 and 88 to the line of $101^{\circ} 30'$. Schnasse county as well as Boreman county, was laid out in Indian reservation territory.

No less than twenty-one changes in county boundaries were provided for and proposed in the laws passed by the legislative assembly in 1885. ⁶³ Four counties west of the Missouri river, Billings, Villard, Dunn, and Wallace, had their boundaries changed, these changes involving also several others in adjacent counties, and one new county was created. Billings county was to include the area extending from the western boundary of the territory to the line between ranges 101 and 102, and from the eighth standard parallel to the eleventh standard parallel. ⁶⁴ Villard county had the same northern and southern boundaries, and

⁶⁰ *Laws of Dakota, 1883*, Chapter 40 Section 3.

⁶¹ *Ib.*, Chapter 40, Section 4.

⁶² *Ib.*, Chapter 34, Section 1.

⁶³ Map 24, opp. p. 194.

⁶⁴ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*, Chapter 3, Section 1.

extended from the line between ranges 97 and 98 to the line between ranges 101 and 102.⁶⁵ Dunn county included the region lying between the tenth and twelfth standard parallels and between the west line of range 93 and the west line of range 97.⁶⁶ In this new Dunn county were included twelve townships of the McKenzie county of 1883 and eight townships formerly belonging to Williams county. The fixing of the southern boundary of Dunn county at the tenth standard parallel made this line the northern boundary of the four western townships in the northern tier of townships of Stark county. The four eastern townships in this same row continued to have the northern boundary of the forty-seventh parallel.

Wallace county was enlarged at the expense of Williams and Allred counties. It now comprised the region bounded on the north by the Missouri river, on the west by the line between ranges 101 and 102, on the south by the twelfth standard parallel, and on the east by the line between ranges 93 and 94 and the Missouri river.⁶⁷ By the arrangement Allred was reduced by about nine townships and Williams county by about six townships. A law was passed providing that the southern part of what was formerly Mercer county should be made into a new county, Oliver, and the remainder of the old Mercer county, with the addition of nine

⁶⁵ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*, Chapter 3, Section 2.

⁶⁶ *Ib.*, Chapter 3, Section 3.

⁶⁷ *Ib.*, Chapter 3, Section 4.

whole townships and three fractional townships south of the Missouri river formerly belonging to Williams county, should be known as Mercer county.⁶⁸ Oliver county was to be bounded on the north by the line between townships 143 and 144 to its intersection with the line between ranges 83 and 84, thence north upon this said line to the middle of the Missouri river; on the east by the Missouri river; on the south by the tenth standard parallel, and on the west by the line between ranges 87 and 88.⁶⁹ Mercer county was to be bounded on the west by the line between ranges 90 and 91, on the north and east by the Missouri river, and on the south by the north boundary of Oliver county extended westward until it intersected the west boundary of Mercer county.

The law provided, however, that the act creating Oliver county and Mercer county was not to take effect unless ratified by the voters at a special election to be held on April 14, 1885.⁷⁰ The vote was favorable, and the two counties were created.⁷¹

Garfield county was created out of parts of Stevens and Mountrail counties. The northern boundary was the line between townships 152 and

⁶⁸ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*. Chapter 31, Section 1.

⁶⁹ *Ib.*, Chapter 31, Section 2.

⁷⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 31, Section 4.

⁷¹ No exact data is available. But maps of Mercer county made as a basis for tax settlements and on file in the office of the State Auditor, show Mercer county with the boundaries as provided for in this law. And according to a letter of Frank J. Klebert, auditor of Oliver county, the first commissioners' meeting was held on May 18, 1885.

153; the eastern, the line between ranges 86 and 87; the southern, the Missouri river; and the western, the line between ranges 91 and 92. Garfield county was made up of parts of Stevens and Mountraille counties. Reference to Maps 23 and 24 will show that the parts of township 150, range 92, and of township 150, range 93, which are north of the Missouri river, are cut off from Stevens county by the law creating Garfield county.⁷² No law was passed providing for the attachment of this isolated fragment to any other county, either in 1885 or at a later date. Evidently this is an oversight of the lawmakers, and one is at a loss to decide the identity of the strip.

McLean county was enlarged by a change of its northwestern and southeastern boundaries. The northwestern boundary was changed to the following: beginning, at the intersection of the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river with the line between ranges 84 and 85; thence north along this range line to its intersection with the line between townships 147 and 148; thence east to the line between ranges 79 and 80. The eastern boundary was the line between ranges 79 and 80, and the southern the line between townships 142 and 143 north to the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river.⁷³ This added to McLean county on the southeast townships 143

⁷² *Laws of Dakota, 1885, Chapter 21, Section 1.*

⁷³ *Ib.*, Chapter 30, Section 1.

and 144 of range 80 and fractional township 143 of range 81. It was provided, however, that this law must be ratified, in order to become effective, by a majority of the legal voters of the townships which were to be transferred from Burleigh county to McLean county. A special election was to be held in the said townships on the first Monday in April, 1885.⁷⁴ The proposal received a majority vote at the election.⁷⁵

Ward county was created in 1885 out of the northern part of Stevens county, the southern row of five townships in Renville county, and one township at the southwestern corner of Wynn county. Ward county extended from the line between townships 157 and 158 to the line between townships 152 and 153, and from the line between ranges 81 and 82 to the twelfth guide meridian.⁷⁶ The question of the division of Stevens county was to be submitted to a vote of the electors of Stevens county and of the territory affected.⁷⁷ At the election held on April 14, 1885, the vote of fifty-six was unanimous for the creation of Ward county.⁷⁸

McHenry county was enlarged by the addition of townships 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, and 156 of

⁷⁴ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*, Chapter 30, Section 2.

⁷⁵ No exact data are available, the results are indicated by later published maps.

⁷⁶ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*, Chapter 42, Section 1.

⁷⁷ *Ib.*, Chapter 42, Section 5.

⁷⁸ No official record of this vote is available. The data given here are on the authority of James Johnson, a pioneer resident of Ward county

range 81. This territory had formerly been a part of Stevens county.⁷⁹

Wells county was also enlarged by having its eastern boundary moved from the line between ranges 68 and 69 to the line between ranges 67 and 68. By this law Wells county was made to include six townships formerly belonging to Foster county.⁸⁰

The remainder of Foster county was divided into Eddy and Foster counties. Eddy county included the northern half extending from the line between ranges 61 and 62 to the line between ranges 67 and 68, and from the line between townships 147 and 148 to the line between townships 150 and 151.⁸¹ Foster county had the same eastern and western boundaries, and extended from the southern boundary of Eddy county to the line between townships 144 and 145.⁸² A special election was to be held in the two counties on March 31, 1885, to vote on the division of Foster county.⁸³ At this election, the proposed law was ratified.⁸⁴

Kidder county was enlarged by having its western boundary moved from the line between ranges 73 and 74 to the line between ranges 74

⁷⁹ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*, Chapter 28, Section 1.

⁸⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 43, Section 1.

⁸¹ *Ib.*, Chapter 15, Section 1.

⁸² *Ib.*, Chapter 15, Section 2.

⁸³ *Ib.*, Chapter 15, Section 5.

⁸⁴ Results are indicated by later published maps.

and 75.⁸⁵ This added to Kidder county eight townships previously forming part of Burleigh county.

The southern boundary of Richland county, which had been fixed at the forty-sixth parallel in 1883, was now moved southward to the seventh standard parallel.⁸⁶ All the counties on the southern border of the present state of North Dakota east of the Missouri river were now bounded on the south by the future state boundary.

The boundaries of Ramsey and Benson counties were considerably changed. Ramsey county was bounded as follows: beginning at the intersection of the thirteenth standard parallel with the line between ranges 60 and 61; thence north on the line between ranges 60 and 61 to the northeast corner of township 154; thence west on the township line between townships 154 and 155 to the northwest corner of township 154; thence north on the range line between ranges 61 and 62 to the northeast corner of township 158; thence west on the township line between townships 158 and 159 to the northwest corner of township 158, between ranges 64 and 65; thence south on the line between ranges 64 and 65 to the southwest corner of township 157; thence west on the line between townships 156 and 157 to the intersection of said line with the ninth guide me-

⁸⁵ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*, Chapter 23, Section 1.

⁸⁶ *Ib.*, Chapter 34, Section 1.

ridian; thence south along said meridian to its second intersection with the Mauvaise Coulee; thence along the center of said coulee to its intersection with the line between townships 153 and 154; thence east on the line between townships 153 and 154 to the line between ranges 65 and 66; thence south on the line between ranges 65 and 66 to the intersection of said range line with the thirteenth standard parallel; thence east on the thirteenth standard parallel to the south shore of Devils Lake; thence easterly along the south shore of Devils Lake to the southeastern extremity of said lake; thence east to the line between ranges 61 and 62; thence north on the line between ranges 61 and 62 to the thirteenth standard parallel; thence east on said parallel to the place of beginning.⁸⁷ Benson county was bounded on the north by the fourteenth standard parallel, on the west by the line between ranges 71 and 72, and on the south by the line between townships 150 and 151 until said line intersected the line between ranges 61 and 62; thence north on said range line to the southeast corner of township 152, range 62.⁸⁸ The western boundary of Benson county and its boundary in the region of Devils Lake corresponded to that given for the western and southern boundary of Ramsey county. However, it was provided that the por-

⁸⁷ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*, Chapter 32, Section 1.

⁸⁸ *Ib.*, Chapter 32, Section 2.

tion of Benson county proposed to be attached to Ramsey county should not be attached unless the vote of the electors living in the said portion of Benson county should be favorable, and a special election was to be held within sixty days after the approval of the law.⁸⁹ This election was held on April 28, 1885, and the proposition received an affirmative vote.⁹⁰ The enlargement of Benson county on the west reduced DeSmet county by half, leaving only twelve townships for this county.

It was proposed to divide Emmons county into two counties, Emmons and Winona. The eighth standard parallel was to form the dividing line between the northern half of the former Emmons county, retaining the name of Emmons, and the southern half to be named Winona.⁹¹ A special election was appointed for March 30, 1885.⁹² No information could be secured concerning the result of this vote, but since no mention of Winona county occurs in later laws or lists of counties, the proposition was in all probability defeated.

Stanton county was to be created out of Kidder and Stutsman counties. It was to be bounded on the north by the eleventh standard parallel, on the west by the line between ranges 71 and 72,

⁸⁹ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*, Chapter 32, Section 3.

⁹⁰ Letter of J. A. Kramer, auditor of Ramsey county, May 20, 1919.

⁹¹ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*, Chapter 16, Section 1.

⁹² *Ib.*, Chapter 16, Section 2.

on the south by the ninth standard parallel, and on the east by the line between ranges 68 and 69.⁹³ The question of segregating these portions of Kidder and Stutsman counties was to be submitted to "a vote of the people of Kidder county and also to the voters of that part of range 69 proposed to be detached from Stutsman county."⁹⁴ A special election, which was to be called within sixty days after the approval of the act, occurred on March 13, 1885. The minutes of the Board of County Commissioners of Stutsman county for the session held April 22, 1885, record the calling of this election in range 69 for May 13, 1885. On May 19 the commissioners canvassed the vote cast, and declared the result to be five votes for division and six votes against division.⁹⁵ There is no evidence of the formation of Stanton county in the records of Kidder county,⁹⁶ and since no further mention of Stanton county is made in the state laws, or none in the lists of counties in the North Dakota Blue Book, it seems safe to assume that the proposal to create Stanton county was defeated.

Blaine county was to be created chiefly out of Walsh county, with the following boundaries: on the north, the line between townships 158 and 159; on the west, the line between ranges 61 and

⁹³ *Laws of Dakota, 1885*, Chapter 38, Section 1.

⁹⁴ *Ib.*, Chapter 38, Section 2.

⁹⁵ Letter of Andrew Blewett, auditor of Stutsman county, February 3, 1919.

⁹⁶ Letter of J. C. McWhinney, auditor of Kidder county.

62; on the south, the line between townships 154 and 155; and on the east, the line between ranges 56 and 57. The proposed county included four townships left unorganized in 1883, two townships belonging to Ramsey county in 1883, and two belonging to Cavalier county.⁹⁷ A special election was to be called in Walsh county not later than the first Tuesday in May, 1885, to vote on this proposition.⁹⁸ The result of the election was a vote of 1,079 against division of Walsh county and 375 for division.⁹⁹ Consequently the proposal was defeated, and Walsh county retained the boundaries of 1883. The failure of Blaine county left outside the boundaries of any county townships 155, 156, 157, and 158 of ranges 60 and 61, between Walsh and Ramsey counties.

A change was proposed in the boundaries of Cavalier county. Cavalier county was to extend from the line between townships 158 and 159 to the international boundary and from the line between ranges 56 and 57 to the lines between ranges 62 and 63. Since the proposed county included, besides nine whole and two fractional townships left unorganized in 1883, fifteen whole and three fractional townships belonging to Pembina county, a special election was to be held in

⁹⁷ *Laws of Dakota, 1885, Chapter 4, Section 1.*

⁹⁸ *Ib.*, Chapter 4, Section 2.

⁹⁹ Letter of W. J. LaMarre, auditor of Walsh county, dated January 22, 1919.

Pembina county not later than May 12, 1885, to vote on the division of Pembina county.¹⁰⁰

By the laws of 1887, twelve changes were definitely made in county boundaries and one change was made provisional upon ratification.¹⁰¹ The boundaries of Cavalier county were finally fixed as follows: on the north, the international boundary line; on the west, the line between ranges 64 and 65; on the south, the line between townships 158 and 159; and on the east, the line between ranges 56 and 57.¹⁰²

In the western part of the territory, changes were made in the boundaries of Billings, Stark, and Morton counties. Villard county was eliminated, its territory being divided between Billings and Stark counties. Billings county was bounded on the west by the western boundary of the territory, on the south by the eighth standard parallel, on the north by the eleventh standard parallel, and on the east by a line described as follows: beginning at the intersection of the eighth standard parallel with the line between ranges 97 and 98, thence north along said line to the line between townships 136 and 137; thence west along said township to the line between ranges 99 and 100; thence north along said range line to the line between townships 140 and 141; thence east along said township line to the

¹⁰⁰ The results of the election could not be ascertained.

¹⁰¹ Map 25, opp. p. 193.

¹⁰² *Laws of Dakota, 1887*, Chapter 182, Section 1.

line between ranges 97 and 98; thence north on said range line to the eleventh standard parallel.¹⁰³ This gave to Billings county forty townships formerly a part of Villard county. The western boundary of Stark county was moved westward from the line between ranges 97 and 98 to the line between ranges 99 and 100, thus adding to Stark county eight townships from the former Villard county.¹⁰⁴

The western boundary of Morton county was moved westward from the one hundred second degree of longitude to the line between ranges 90 and 91.¹⁰⁵ This line accordingly became the eastern boundary of Stark and Hettinger counties, a change which meant some loss of territory for both of these counties.

The new counties, Pierce and Church, were created. Pierce county was bounded on the north by the line between townships 158 and 159; the western boundary runs south from this township line on the line between ranges 74 and 75 to the southwest corner of township 153 of range 74, thence east along the line between townships 152 and 153 to the northeast corner of township 152 of range 74; thence south along the line between ranges 73 and 74 to the southwest corner of township 151, range 73. The southern boundary continues from the last mentioned point east-

¹⁰³ *Laws of Dakota, 1887*, Chapter 179, Section 1.

¹⁰⁴ *Ib.*, Chapter 179, Section 2.

¹⁰⁵ *Ib.*, Chapter 183, Section 1.

ward on the line between townships 150 and 151 to the southeast corner of township 151 of range 72. From said corner the eastern boundary runs north along the line between ranges 71 and 72 to the northeast corner of township 156 of range 72, thence east along the north line of Benson county to the southwest corner of Towner county, thence north along the west boundary of Towner county to its intersection with the line between townships 158 and 159.¹⁰⁶ Pierce county included the twelve townships remaining of the old DeSmet county, ten townships from the southern part of Rolette county, two townships from Bottineau county, and four from McHenry county.

Church county was made out of territory previously included in McHenry and Sheridan counties. It was bounded on the north by the line between townships 152 and 153; on the west by the line between ranges 80 and 81; on the south by the line between townships 148 and 149; and on the east by the line between ranges 73 and 74.¹⁰⁷ This county comprised fourteen townships from the southern part of McHenry county and the same number from the northern part of Sheridan county.

By the creation of Pierce county, the southern boundary of Rolette county was moved north-

¹⁰⁶ *Laws of Dakota, 1887*. Chapter 180, Section 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Ib.*, Chapter 180, Section 4.

ward from the fourteenth standard parallel to the line between townships 158 and 159. Several changes were made in the boundaries of Bottineau and McHenry counties also. The western boundary of Bottineau county was moved westward from the line between ranges 78 and 79 to the line between ranges 80 and 81.¹⁰⁸ The southern boundary was moved northward as follows: Beginning at the intersection of the line between ranges 73 and 74 with the line between townships 158 and 159; thence running west along the line between townships 158 and 159 to the southwest corner of township 159 of range 75; thence north on the line between ranges 75 and 76 to the line between townships 159 and 160; thence west on the line between townships 159 and 160 to the western boundary. Bottineau county gained townships 160, 161, 162, 163, and 164 of ranges 79 and 80, formerly a part of Wynn county, and lost to Pierce county townships 157 and 158 of range 74, and to McHenry county townships 157 and 158 of range 75, and townships 157, 158, 159, of ranges 76, 77, 78, 79, and 80. All four boundaries of McHenry county were changed.¹⁰⁹ The eastern boundary was moved westward from the line between ranges 73 and 74 to the line between ranges 74 and 75. The southern boundary was moved northward from the line between town-

¹⁰⁸ *Laws of Dakota, 1887*, Chapter 180, Section 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ib.*, Chapter 180, Section 3.

ships 150 and 151 to the line between townships 152 and 153. The southern boundary of Bottineau county described above, was the northern boundary of McHenry county. The western boundary of McHenry county was moved eastward from the line between ranges 81 and 82 to the line between ranges 80 and 81.

The northern boundary of Sheridan county was moved southward from the line between townships 150 and 151 to the line between townships 148 and 149.¹¹⁰

Renville and Ward counties were enlarged. Townships 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, and 164 of ranges 81 and 82 were attached to Renville county.¹¹¹ These townships had formerly been a part of Wynn county. Ward county was to be bounded on the north by the line between townships 158 and 159, on the west by the line between ranges 87 and 88, on the south by the line between townships 152 and 153, and on the east by the line between ranges 80 and 81.¹¹² This meant the annexation of five townships from the southern part of Renville county and two townships from the former Wynn county. An election was set on or before May 1, 1887, to vote for or against the annexation of these townships to Ward

¹¹⁰ *Laws of Dakota, 1887*, Chapter 180, Section 5.

¹¹¹ *Ib.*, Chapter 181, Section 2.

¹¹² *Ib.*, Chapter 181, Section 1.

county.¹¹³ The annexation received a majority vote.¹¹⁴

The law provided that the boundaries of Wynn county should be "changed and modified to conform with the provisions of this act,"¹¹⁵ but in reality this act legislates Wynn county out of existence, dividing its territory between Bottineau, McHenry, Ward, and Renville counties, and Wynn county has never been re-established.

The laws of 1889 provided for only one change in county boundaries. The boundary defined for Ramsey county in 1889 is identical with the provisional boundary fixed by the law of 1885.¹¹⁶ The law of 1889, which is apparently superfluous, was probably passed to settle some irregularity in the election of 1885 or some other dispute over boundaries which may have arisen. The map of Dakota Territory for 1889 is, therefore, identical with that for 1887, and represents the state of North Dakota as it was in 1889 when admitted to the Union.

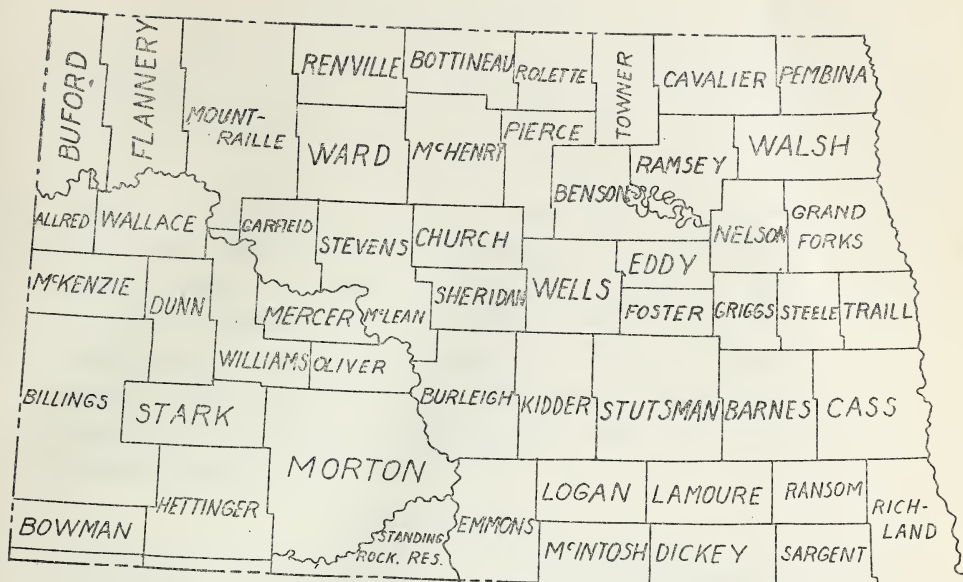
No law was passed until 1891 making provision for the strip of territory between the forty-sixth parallel and the seventh standard parallel; including the northern part of the counties of

¹¹³ *Laws of Dakota, 1887*, Chapter 181, Section 6.

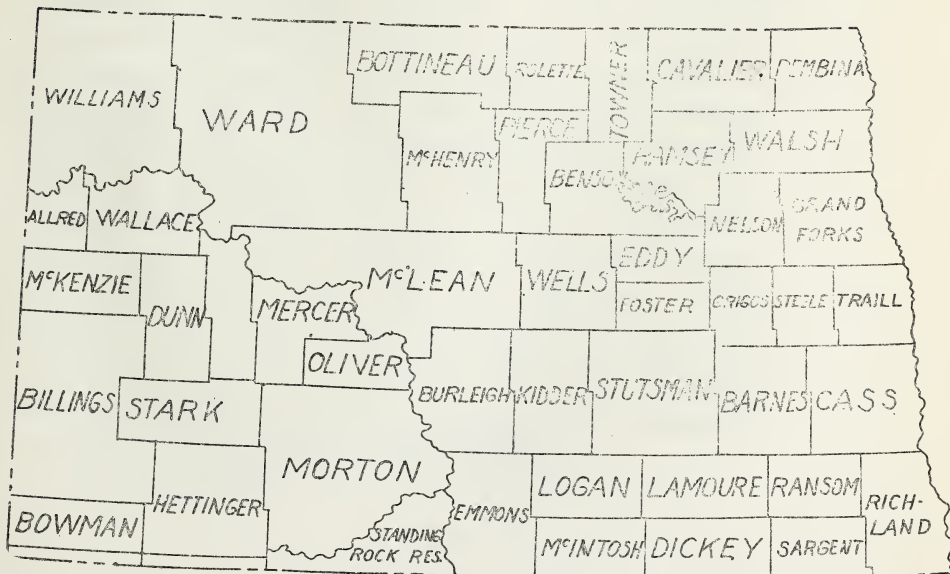
¹¹⁴ No official record of the vote can be found. This statement of the result of the election is given on the authority of James Johnson of Minot.

¹¹⁵ *Laws of Dakota, 1887*, Chapter 181, Section 3.

¹¹⁶ *Ib.*, 1889, Chapter 58, Section 1.



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Ewing, Martin, and Wagner.¹¹⁷ Presumably, when this strip was cut off from the rest of the three counties in South Dakota by the creation of the two states in 1889, this territory was in no county. The same question arises with regard to Schnasse and Boreman counties, both of which were in Standing Rock Indian Reservation. Was the law creating these counties nullified by the drawing of the state boundary line through them? The question is of little practical importance, as the Indian Reservation was never organized as a county until 1914.

CHAPTER IV

BOUNDARY CHANGES SINCE STATEHOOD

When North Dakota became a state in 1889, it contained fifty-three counties.¹ The following year a change was provided for in the boundaries of Ramsey county.² The territory included in townships 155, 156, 157, and 158 north of ranges 60 and 61 west, which had been outside of boundaries of any county since 1885 when the proposed Blaine county failed to receive an affirmative vote, was to be attached to Ramsey county, providing that it met with the approval of the voters.³ No direct evidence could be secured that

¹¹⁷ In 1891 Billings, Stark and Morton counties were extended south to the state line. May 27, opp. p. 223.

¹ These counties are named in Article 105 of the State Constitution, by which the state is divided into judicial districts.

² *Laws of North Dakota, 1890, Chapter 20, Section 1.*

³ Map 26, opp. p. 223.

the proposal was adopted, but since all later maps show Ramsey county including these townships, this indirect evidence may be considered conclusive.

In 1891 extensive changes were provided for in county boundaries. Pierce, McHenry, Bottineau, Ward, McLean, Williams, Billings, Stark, Morton, and Mercer counties were to be enlarged by the absorption of adjacent unorganized counties. The law was entitled "an act to increase the revenues of the state by changing and increasing the boundaries" of the counties named.⁴ The western half of the state was at this time devoted almost exclusively to ranching, and the unorganized counties were incorporated into organized counties in order that the large herds of cattle and horses might be effectively and adequately taxed.

Pierce county included the following townships: townships 157 and 158 north of ranges 69, 70, and 71, and townships 151 to 158, both inclusive, of ranges 72, 73, and 74.⁵ This law added to Pierce county townships 151 and 152 of range 74, formerly a part of Church county.

McHenry county was composed of townships 151 to 158 of range 75, and townships 151 to 159 of ranges 76 to 80.⁶ McHenry county received

⁴ Map 27, opp. p. 223.

⁵ *Laws of North Dakota, 1891*, Chapter 50, Section 1.

⁶ *Ib.*, Chapter 50, Section 2.

an addition of twelve townships on the south taken from the former Church county.

McLean county was bounded on the north by the line between townships 150 and 151, and on the east by the line between ranges 73 and 74. The western and southern boundaries are described as follows: beginning at the intersection of the north boundary line with the line between ranges 91 and 92; thence south along the line between ranges 91 and 92, to the center of the main channel of the Missouri river, thence down the channel to the line between townships 142 and 143 north, thence east to the southeast corner of township 143 north, range 80, thence north to the eleventh standard parallel, thence east along the eleventh standard parallel to the tenth guide meridian, thence north and along the tenth guide meridian, to the northeast corner of township 150 north of range 74.⁷ The new McLean county included the remaining fourteen townships of Church county, all of the former Sheridan and McLean counties, eighteen full and two fractional townships of Stevens county, and twelve full and six fractional townships of Garfield county.

Bottineau county was composed of township 159 of ranges 74 and 75, townships 160 to 163 of ranges 74 to 83, fractional township 164 of ranges 74 to 83, and township 159 of ranges 81,

⁷ *Laws of North Dakota, 1891*, Chapter 50, Section 5.

82, and 83.⁸ It acquired fifteen full and three fractional townships on the west from the former Renville county.

Ward county was bounded on the north by the international boundary, on the west by the line between ranges 94 and 95, on the south by the Missouri river and the north boundary of McLean county, and on the east by a line described as follows: commencing at the southeast corner of township 151 of range 81, thence north along the eleventh guide meridian to the northeast corner of township 158 of range 81, thence west along the line between townships 158 and 159 to the northwest corner of township 158 north of range 83, thence north along the line between ranges 83 and 84 to the north boundary of the State.⁹ The new Ward county contained all of the former Mountraille and Ward counties, twenty full and four fractional townships of Renville county, the twelve northern townships of Stevens county, and the ten northern townships of Garfield county.

A new Williams county was created, which included the two counties formerly known as Buford and Flannery.¹⁰

The number of counties west and south of the Missouri river was reduced to five—Billings, Stark, Mercer, Oliver, and Morton. Billings

⁸ *Laws of North Dakota, 1891*, Chapter 50, Section 3.

⁹ *Ib.*, Chapter 50, Section 4.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 50, Section 6.

county extended from the western boundary of the state on the west to the line between ranges 99 and 100 on the east, and from the Missouri river on the north to the southern boundary of the state on the south.¹¹

Stark county extended from the line between ranges 99 and 100 on the west to the line between ranges 90 and 91 on the east, and from the Missouri river on the north to the southern boundary of the state on the south.¹²

Mercer county was enlarged by the addition of townships 141, 142, and 143 of ranges 88, 89, and 90, formerly belonging to Williams county.¹³ Oliver county retained its old boundaries.

Morton county was extended southward from the Cannon Ball river to the south boundary of the state.¹⁴

The law of 1891 eliminated from the map the following counties: Church, Sheridan, Stevens, Garfield, Renville, Mountrail, Buford, Flannery, Allred, Wallace, McKenzie, Dunn, Bowman, Hettinger, and old Williams. It was provided, however, that the law should not take effect until the proposal had been ratified by a majority vote at the next general election.¹⁵ The proposal to enlarge Ward county was endorsed.¹⁶

¹¹ *Laws of North Dakota, 1891*, Chapter 50, Section 7.

¹² *Ib.*, Chapter 50, Section 8.

¹³ *Ib.*, Chapter 50, Section 10.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, Chapter 50, Section 9.

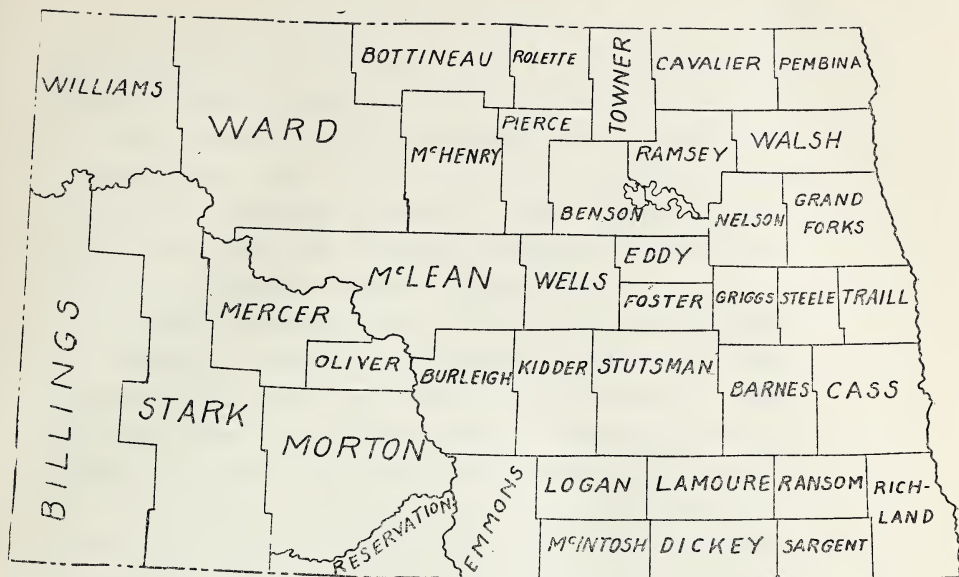
¹⁵ *Ib.*, Chapter 50, Section 11.

¹⁶ According to James Johnson of Minot, there was a majority of 259 votes in favor of this proposition.

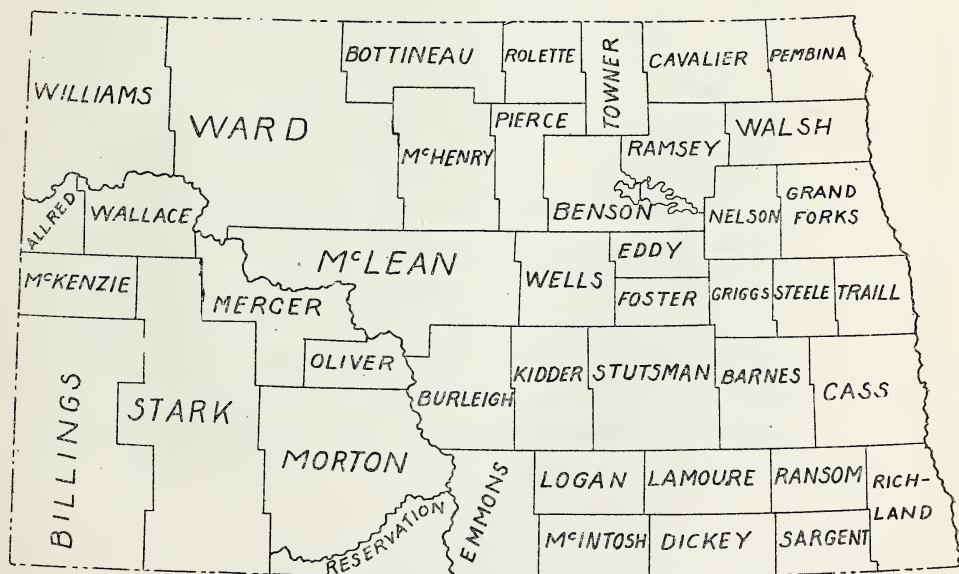
That Williams, Bottineau, McHenry, Pierce, and McLean counties also were established with the enlarged boundaries provided for in the law of 1891, there is no direct evidence in the way of reports of votes cast at the election of 1892. But the fact is attested by the appearance of the enlarged counties on all maps subsequent to 1892. It was impossible to secure reports of the vote held on the question of enlarging Billings, Stark, Morton, and Mercer counties.¹⁷ It seems certain, however, that Mercer county was the only one of these four counties in which the law of 1891 received an affirmative vote. The tax settlement maps of Mercer county on file in the office of the State Auditor give Mercer county with the enlarged boundaries, as does also a "Sectional Map of the State of North Dakota published by authority of the commissioners of railroads under direction of the governor" in 1892. On this last mentioned map the counties west of Mercer and Morton counties are shown with the old boundaries defined before 1890, and this is taken as acceptable evidence that the propositions to create the enlarged Billings, Stark, and Morton counties were all defeated.

The creation of the new Williams county in the northwestern corner of the state left the part

¹⁷ Later a report was received from Lee Nichols, auditor of Morton county, stating that at the general election on November 8, 1892, the vote was 83 for changing and 370 against changing the boundaries of Morton county.



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MAP~29

of the original Williams county not absorbed by Mercer county nameless and outside the bounds of any county. This unorganized territory between Dunn and Mercer counties extended from the tenth standard parallel to the Missouri river and from the line between ranges 90 and 91 to the line between ranges 93 and 94.

In 1895 changes were made in the boundaries of Billings, Stark, and Mercer counties.¹⁸ Billings county was bounded on the west and south by the state boundaries, and on the north by the Missouri river. On the east the line was described as follows: beginning at the intersection of the main channel of the Missouri river with the line between ranges 100 and 101, thence south and along the line between ranges 100 and 101 to the twelfth standard parallel, thence east and along the twelfth standard parallel to the northeast corner of township 148 north of range 98 west, thence south and along the line between ranges 97 and 98 west, to the tenth standard parallel, thence west along the tenth standard parallel to the fifteenth guide meridian, thence south along the fifteenth guide meridian to the ninth standard parallel, thence east along the ninth standard parallel to the northeast corner of township 136 of range 98, thence south along the line between ranges 97 and 98 to the eighth standard parallel, thence west along the eighth standard

¹⁸ Map 28, opp. p. 229.

parallel to the northwest corner of township 132 of range 98, thence south along the line between ranges 98 and 99 to the south boundary of the state.¹⁹

Stark county was bounded on the west by the eastern boundary of Billings county, on the north by the Missouri river, and on the south by the state boundary. The eastern boundary ran as follows: from the Missouri river along the line between ranges 93 and 94 west to the line between townships 141 and 142 north, thence east along the line between townships 141 and 142 to the line between ranges 90 and 91, thence south along the line between ranges 90 and 91 to the south boundary of the state.²⁰

Mercer county was increased to include all of the old Williams county territory except the parts of township 141, ranges 91, 92, and 93, north of 47°, now a part of Stark county. The western boundary of Mercer county was moved from the line between ranges 90 and 91 to the line between ranges 93 and 94, and the southern boundary of the new territory added was the line between townships 141 and 142.²¹

By this arrangement, Billings county included the territory in the former Allred, McKenzie, Billings, and Bowman counties, and Stark county comprised the territory of the former Wallace,

¹⁹ *Laws of North Dakota, 1895*, Chapter 25, Section 1.

²⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 25, Section 2.

²¹ *Ib.*, Chapter 25, Section 3.

Dunn, Stark, and Hettinger counties, besides three fractional townships of the old Williams county.

The question of making these changes in boundaries was to be submitted to the voters at the first general election, which would occur in November, 1896. Official returns are not obtainable, but the evidence is conclusive that the vote was favorable and that these counties were created.²²

The law of 1895 enlarging the boundaries of Billings, Stark, and Mercer counties was the first law providing for boundary changes whose constitutionality was tested in the State Supreme Court. In an action of Wilson L. Richard against Stark county in the District Court in Stark county, a demurrer to the complaint was sustained. The plaintiff appealed the case to the Supreme Court. The opinion of the court, filed May 18, 1899, was that Chapter 25, Laws of 1895, entitled "An act to increase the revenues of the state by changing and increasing the boundaries of the counties of Billings, Stark, and Mercer" was unconstitutional, "because the subject of the act is not expressed in the title, as required by section 61 of the constitution of this state." Accordingly, the law of 1895 became null and void in May,

²² The map of North Dakota by Rand, McNally and Co., 1903, gives these boundaries for the three counties. Supreme court decisions discussed below prove the existence of these counties.

1899, and the counties affected were restored to the boundaries of 1890.

Shortly before this decision was made, on March 9, 1899, an act of the state legislature was approved, probably in anticipation of the adverse action of the court. This act provided "that all territory within the State of North Dakota over which any county has exercised jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters and which has for all intents and purposes been treated as a portion of such county for not less than two years last past, shall be and the same is hereby declared a part of such county." This act was made an emergency measure.²³ It was evidently intended to re-enact the law of 1895 if it should be declared unconstitutional.

Henry B. Schaffner, a resident of the old Williams county, brought an action in equity in the District Court against John Young, as sheriff of Mercer county, to restrain the latter from levying on the complainant's property for taxes. The plaintiff appealed to the Supreme Court from a judgment in favor of the defendant. The judgment of the lower court was affirmed, but the court again passed upon the constitutionality of the attempts to change the county boundaries. It was held that Chapter 57, Laws of 1899, was unconstitutional and void, "because the same omitted any provision for submitting the law to

²³ *Laws of North Dakota, 1899*, Chapter 57, Sections 1 and 2.

the voters for approval," and that "the boundaries of the counties of Billings, Stark, and Mercer were not changed or affected by the passage and approval of either of the statutes embraced in said Chapters 25 and 57."²⁴ This opinion was filed May 24, 1901. Thus the second attempt to increase the boundaries of these counties failed.

In 1897 only one boundary change was proposed, that of Morton county. "All that part of the State of North Dakota lying south of Morton county and between the County of Stark and the Missouri river" was to be included in Morton county.²⁵ This change also was to be submitted to the voters.²⁶ No record of the result of this election could be found in the county records, but Lee Nichols, auditor of Morton county, is of the opinion that the territory in the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, now Sioux county, was never attached to Morton county except for judicial purposes.²⁷

In 1903 changes were proposed in the boundaries of Billings, Mercer, and Stark counties, which were to be voted upon at the general election of 1904, and were to become effective if ratified by a majority vote. Billings county was to be bounded as follows: on the north, by the eleventh standard parallel; on the west and

²⁴ 10 N. D., 245.

²⁵ *Laws of North Dakota, 1897*, Chapter 79, Section 1.

²⁶ *Ib.*, Chapter 79, Section 2.

²⁷ Letter from Lee Nichols, dated June 3, 1919.

south, by the boundary lines of the state; and on the east by a line described as follows: beginning on the south boundary line of North Dakota, thence north along the line between ranges 98 and 99, to the eighth standard parallel; thence east along the eighth standard parallel to the southeast corner of township 133 of range 98; thence north along the line between ranges 97 and 98 to the ninth standard parallel; thence west along the ninth standard parallel to the southeast corner of township 137 of range 100; thence north along the line between ranges 99 and 100 to the tenth standard parallel; thence east along the tenth standard parallel to the southeast corner of township 141, range 98; thence north along the line between ranges 97 and 98 to the eleventh standard parallel.²⁸

Mercer county was described as follows: Commencing at the southwest corner of township 141, range 90; thence north between ranges 90 and 91 to the eleventh standard parallel; thence west along the eleventh standard parallel to the southwest corner of township 145 of range 93; thence north between ranges 93 and 94 to the twelfth standard parallel; thence west along the twelfth standard parallel to the southwest corner of township 149 of range 93; thence north between ranges 93 and 94 to the Missouri river; thence

²⁸ *Laws of North Dakota, 1903*, Chapter 67, Section 3. Map 29, opp. p. 229.

southeasterly along the right bank of the Missouri river to the line between ranges 83 and 84; thence south to the southeast corner of township 144, range 84; thence west between townships 143 and 144 to the northwest corner of township 143 of range 87; thence south between ranges 87 and 88 to the tenth standard parallel; thence west along the tenth standard parallel to the place of beginning.²⁹

Stark county was bounded on the west by the eastern boundary of Billings county, as far north as the eleventh standard parallel; from the eleventh standard parallel the line ran north along the line between ranges 97 and 98 to the twelfth standard parallel. The northern boundary was the twelfth standard parallel. The eastern boundary ran along the line between ranges 93 and 94 between the twelfth and eleventh standard parallels; thence east along the eleventh standard parallel to the line between ranges 90 and 91; thence south along the line between ranges 90 and 91 to the southern boundary of the state, which formed the south boundary of Stark county.³⁰

It will be noted that in 1903 Billings county included the old Billings and Bowman counties of 1890; Stark county, the old Dunn, Hettinger, and Stark counties, and part of Williams county, and

²⁹ *Laws of North Dakota, 1903*, Chapter 68, Section 3.

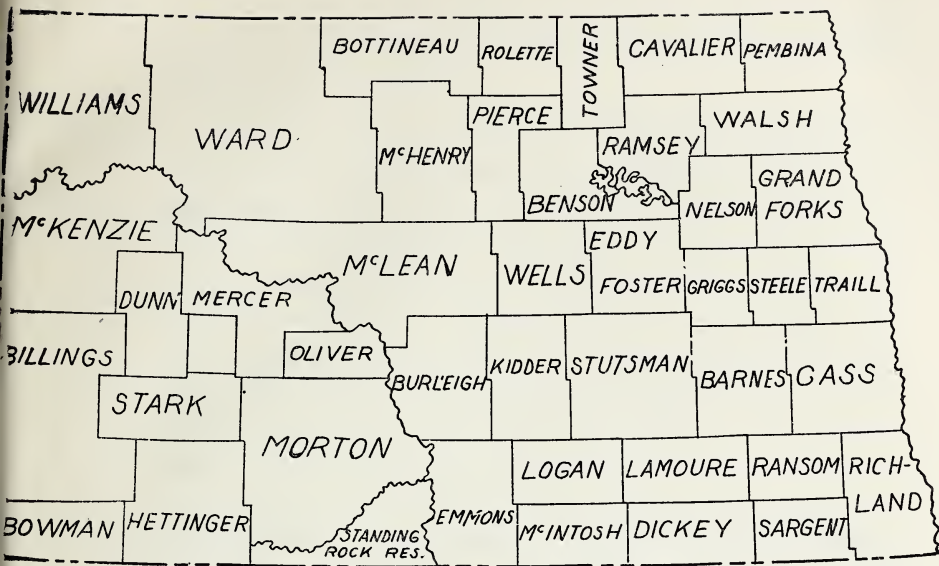
³⁰ *Ib.*, Chapter 69, Section 3.

Mercer county, the former Mercer county and part of Williams county. Throughout the period from 1891 to 1903, Oliver county is the only county west of the Missouri river which maintains its original boundaries.

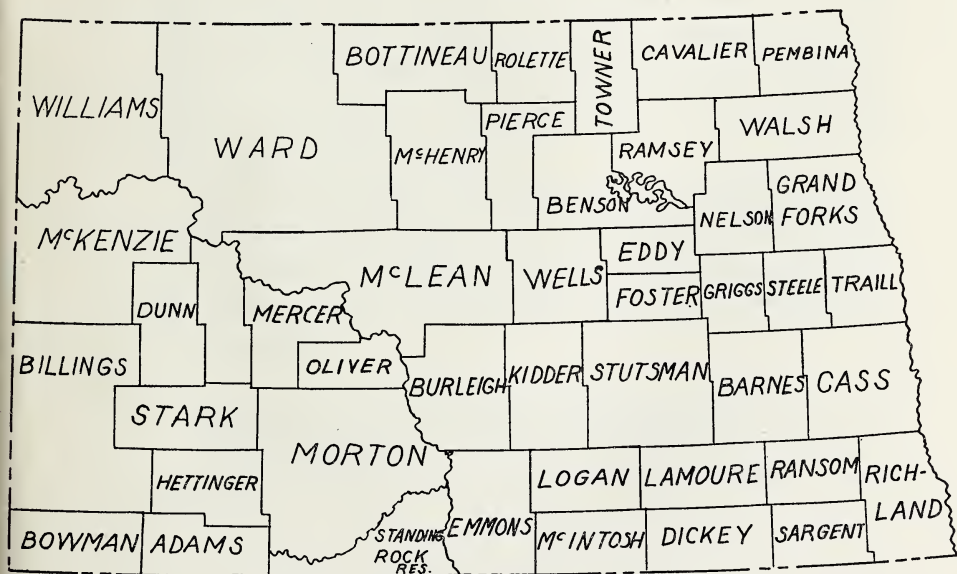
In 1905 only one new county, McKenzie, was created. McKenzie county was bounded on the west by the western boundary of the state; on the north, by the Missouri river; on the south, by the eleventh standard parallel; and on the east by a line described as follows: beginning at the intersection of the eleventh standard parallel with the line between ranges 97 and 98; thence north along the line between ranges 97 and 98 to the twelfth standard parallel; thence east along the twelfth standard parallel to its intersection with the line between ranges 93 and 94; thence north along the line between ranges 93 and 94 to the Missouri river.³¹ The new McKenzie county was comprised of territory formerly included in Allred, Wallace, and the old McKenzie county.

McKenzie county was the last county to be created by a special law of the legislature. All counties organized after 1905 were organized under the provisions of a general law entitled "An act to Provide for Organizing Counties from the Unorganized Territory in this State," passed by the

³¹ *Laws of North Dakota, 1905, Chapter 73, Section 1. Map 30, opp. p. 236.*



• MAP -30



MAP -31

legislature of 1907,³² or by division of organized counties by elections.

In 1907 Adams, Bowman, Hettinger, and Mercer counties were organized. Adams county was segregated from the original Hettinger county. The proclamation of the organization of Adams county was made by Governor John Burke on April 17, 1907.³³ Adams county is bounded on the west by the line between ranges 98 and 99; on the east, by the line between ranges 90 and 91; on the south, by the south boundary of the state; and on the north by a line described as follows: beginning at the intersection of the line between ranges 98 and 99 with the eighth standard parallel; thence running east along the eighth standard parallel to the northeast corner of township 132, range 95; thence south along the line between ranges 94 and 95 to the line between townships 131 and 132; thence east along the line between townships 131 and 132 to the eastern boundary of the county.³⁴

Bowman county was organized on July 5, 1907. It extends from the south boundary of the state to the eighth standard parallel, and from the line between ranges 98 and 99 to the west boundary of the state.³⁵

³² *Laws of North Dakota, 1907*, Chapter 63, Section 1.

³³ Letter of H. J. Sticken, auditor of Adams county, dated May 28, 1919.

³⁴ Map 31, opp. p. 236.

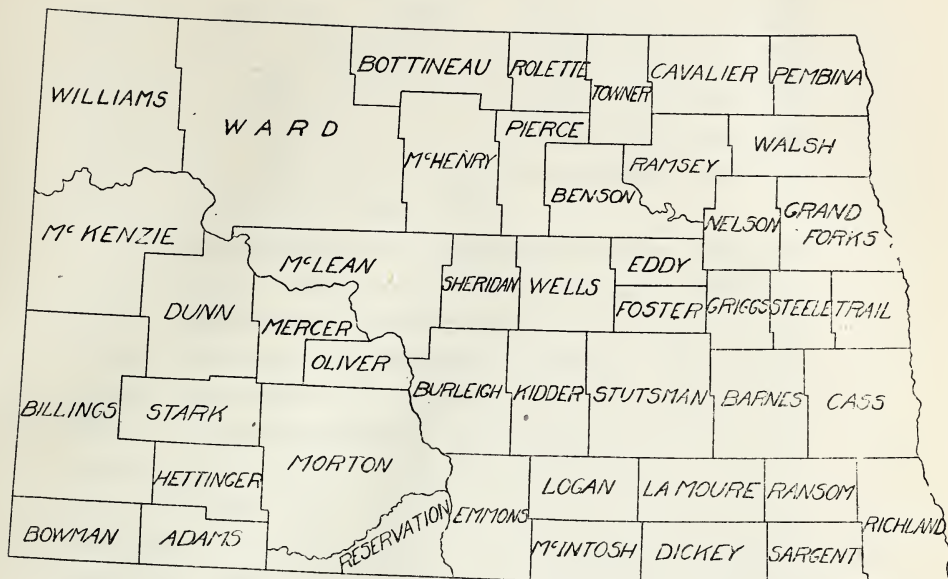
³⁵ Letter of Thomas Hall, Secretary of State, May 27, 1919. Map 31, opp. p. 236.

Hettinger county was organized April 17, 1907.³⁶ It comprises the territory included between the north boundary of Adams county on the south and the ninth standard parallel on the north, and between the line between ranges 90 and 91 on the east and the line between ranges 97 and 98 on the west.³⁷

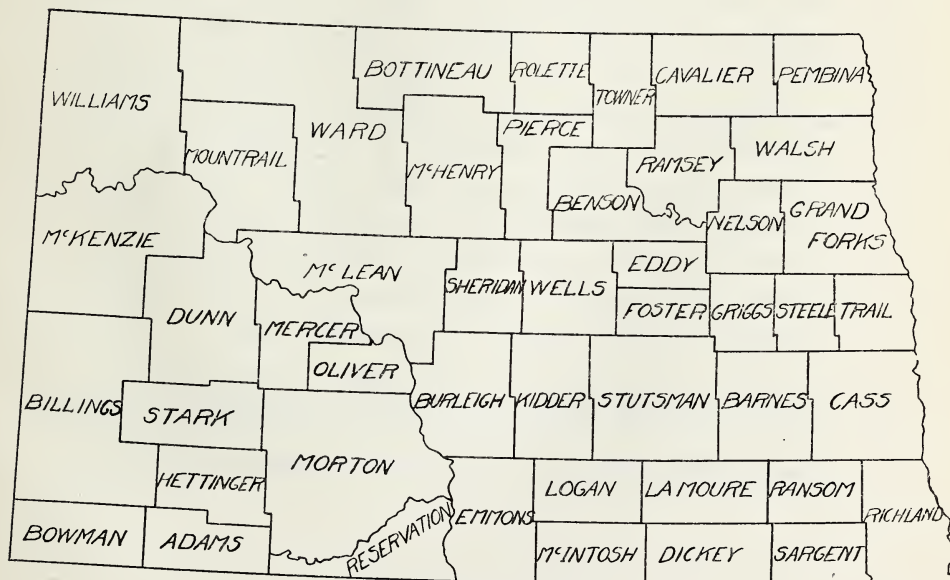
In 1908 two new counties, Dunn and Sheridan, were organized. Dunn county is bounded on the west by the line between ranges 97 and 98, and on the east by the line between ranges 90 and 91. On the north the boundary line runs as follows: beginning at the intersection of the line between ranges 97 and 98 with the twelfth standard parallel; thence east along the twelfth standard parallel to the line between ranges 93 and 94; thence north along the line between ranges 93 and 94 to the Missouri river; thence easterly and southeasterly down the main channel of the Missouri river to the line between ranges 90 and 91. On the south the boundary line runs as follows: from the line between ranges 97 and 98 to the line between ranges 93 and 94, along the tenth standard parallel; and from the line between ranges 93 and 94 to the line between ranges 90 and 91 along the forty-seventh degree of latitude. Dunn county was organized with these bound-

³⁶ Letters as above and map 31, opp. p. 236.

³⁷ Map 31, opp. p. 236.



MAP-32



MAP-33

aries in February, 1908.³⁸ Organized in 1908, Dunn county comprised the old Dunn county, defined in 1885, and the part of the original Williams county north of the forty-seventh parallel of latitude. The latter had been outside the limits of any county since 1892.

Sheridan county was segregated from McLean county by an election held November 3, 1908, at which 1,950 out of 3,600 votes were cast in favor of the division of McLean county. The new county was formally organized on December 24, 1908.³⁹ The boundaries of Sheridan county are as follows: on the north, the line between townships 150 and 151; on the east, the tenth guide meridian; on the south, the eleventh standard parallel; and on the west, by the line running between ranges 78 and 79, from the eleventh to the twelfth standard parallels, and by the line running between ranges 77 and 78, from the twelfth standard parallel to the north boundary. By the formation of Sheridan county McLean county lost twenty-eight townships on the east.

At the same election at which Sheridan county was created, another election was held in Ward county on the question of dividing the latter county. The attempts to divide Ward county

³⁸ Boundaries given on map of North Dakota issued by W. C. Gilbreath, Department of Agriculture and Labor, Bismarck, North Dakota, 1909. Data supplied by Thomas Hall, Secretary of State, from the state records. Map 32, opp. p. 239.

³⁹ From data supplied by Thomas Hall from the state records. Map 32, opp. p. 239.

date back several years before 1908, however, and before discussing the final and successful effort, it may be interesting to review briefly the earlier failures.

On July 2, 1901, the constitutionality of the law of 1891 was tested by an action in the Supreme Court brought by George J. Walker against McLean county. In this case an application was made to file an information in the nature of a quo warranto proceeding against the counties of Pierce, McLean, and McHenry for usurpation of franchise in extending their governmental control over all of the county under the law of 1891, alleged to be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court held that its jurisdiction was primarily appellate, and that it could exercise original jurisdiction only in defense of the state, its franchises, and the liberties of the people; and since none of these appeared to be in jeopardy in the present instance, the application was denied.⁴⁰

The case of Church county was exactly like that of Renville county, since both Church and Renville counties had been abolished by the law of 1891. In 1903 there was a strongly organized movement to revive Renville county. A case was started in the district court to restrain the collection of taxes in former Renville county territory by the treasurer of Bottineau county. Judge Cowan's decision, made in September, 1903, was

⁴⁰ 11 N. D., 356.

as follows: "In the case of Wright vs. Bottineau county, upon the strength of the State ex rel. Walker vs. McLean county, and other decisions, I have deemed it my duty to sustain the demurrer to the complaint." Accordingly, the attempt to have the law of 1891 set aside by the Supreme Court failed.

In 1908 plans were made to divide Ward county into four parts, on lines corresponding to the present boundaries of Burke, Mountrail, Renville, and Ward counties. Another proposition was to divide Ward county into two parts by a line running east and west between townships 158 and 159; the northern portion was to be named Lake county, the southern portion was to retain the name of Ward county. The former plan was supported by Mohall and the smaller towns of Ward county, and the latter by Kenmare and Minot. Minot regarded the Ward-Lake division as the lesser of two inevitable evils, for there was little hope of blocking both attempts at division. It was necessary to secure a mandamus to get the auditor of Ward county to put both propositions upon the ballot, for he contended that only one question could be voted upon at a time.

The results of the election held on November 3, 1908, indicated that Lake, Burke, and Renville

counties had failed to receive a majority vote but Mountrail county had been created.⁴¹

However, the question was to pass through a long process of litigation before final settlement. The opponents of Mountrail county challenged its right to existence, alleging that although the votes favorable to Mountrail county were a majority of the number cast on that proposition, they were not a majority of the total number of votes cast for the different candidates for governor.⁴² The case was brought before the State Supreme Court. The decision made on January 16, 1919, held that Mountrail county was legally created: "a majority of the votes cast upon a question submitted to vote, if in the affirmative, carries it."⁴³

Mountrail county, therefore, entered upon its legal existence on January 16, 1909. The boundaries of Mountrail county are as follows: on the north, the line between townships 158 and 159; on the east, the line between ranges 87 and 88; on the west, the line between ranges 94 and 95; and on the southwest and south by the Missouri river and the north boundary of McLean county.⁴⁴

⁴¹ The vote was as follows:

	For	Against
Lake		
Burke		
Renville	3,744	4,275
Mountrail	4,207	4,024

⁴² Vote for governor, 9,259.

⁴³ 18 N. D., 31.

⁴⁴ Map 33, opp. p. 239.

In April, 1909, counsel for Renville and Burke counties filed a suit in the District Court presided over by Judge Charles F. Templeton, contending that Section 21 of Chapter 109 of the 1907 Session Laws, part of the primary election law, was unconstitutional and void. This section provides that the list of those voting at the primary election shall take the place of the first registration of the voters required by the general election law. It was alleged that none of the ward inspectors held a meeting on October 27, 1908, to revise, correct, and complete the registration list, neither was the list of names of those voting in the primary election in June, 1908, in the possession of or used by the election officers at the general election in November, and no list purporting to be a registry list was used. Moreover, none of the voters furnished affidavits showing their qualifications as electors before voting.⁴⁵

This suit was an attempt to have the entire vote of Kenmare thrown out. If this could be done, both Renville and Burke counties would be created by small majorities. There was an adverse majority of 531 in the case of Renville county, which the judgment of the district court cut down to about 477. At the primary election in June, 1908, only 207 votes were cast in Kenmare, but at the general election in 1908, 625 votes were cast against Renville county and 2 in favor of it.

⁴⁵ Opinion of Justice Spalding, 20 *N. D.*, 376.

This enormous increase in the number of votes naturally aroused suspicion of illegal voting.

A recount of votes reduced Kenmare's vote against Renville county to 618; if this entire vote were rejected, Renville county would have a favorable majority of 87. Burke county had an adverse majority of 420, which was reduced by a recount to 395. If Kenmare's vote of 592 against Burke county were rejected, there would be a majority of 197 in favor of Burke county.⁴⁶

In the latter part of May, 1909, Judge Templeton gave his decision. He held that Renville and Burke counties were right as to the facts alleged in regard to non-registration in Kenmare, but that this was a special election and no registration was necessary. The case was immediately appealed to the Supreme Court.⁴⁷

On February 8, 1910, the decision of the Supreme Court was announced. It held that the 207 voters who had voted at the primary election in Kenmare were therefore registered de facto and that their votes should be counted. Making allowances for all the adverse votes cast against both Burke and Renville counties, the court found that after deducting the illegal votes in Kenmare, Burke county was organized by a small majority, but Renville county was defeated, having still an adverse majority.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Mohall News*, April 29, 1909.

⁴⁷ *Ib.*, May 25, 1909.

⁴⁸ *Ib.*, February 8, 1910.

The Renville county counsel succeeded in having the Supreme Court grant a re-hearing of the case on May 20, 1910. The revised decision of the court, filed on June 3, 1910, held that registration of voters was mandatory, and that no elector who was not registered in the manner provided for by law could have his vote counted.⁴⁹ This decision meant the rejection of Kenmare's entire vote and the legal establishment of both Burke and Renville counties. Renville county was formally organized on July 20, 1910, when Governor John Burke appointed the commissioners.

The county division fight in Ward county has already been referred to as largely a fight between towns. The supporters of the four-county plan drew the county lines in such a way that Kenmare should be left in Ward county, because they feared the rivalry of Kenmare in the county seat contests which were to follow county division. This "gerrymandering" has given to Ward county a peculiar "goose neck" which is a very conspicuous feature of the state map. The "body" of the present Ward county consists of townships 151 to 157 of ranges 81 to 87. The "goose neck" consists of townships 158, 159, and 160 of range 87; townships 159, 160, and 161 of range 88; and townships 159 and 160 of range 89. Burke county comprises townships 162 and 163 of ranges 88

⁴⁹ 20 N. D., 372.

to 94; township 161 of ranges 89 to 94; townships 159 and 160 of ranges 90 to 94; and fractional township 164 of ranges 88 to 94. Renville county includes township 158 of ranges 81 to 86; townships 159 and 160 of ranges 84 to 86; townships 161, 162, and 163 of ranges 84 to 87; and fractional township 164 of ranges 84 to 87.⁵⁰

A third county, Divide, was placed on the state map in 1910. Divide county was segregated from Williams county at the general election held on November 8, 1910,⁵¹ and was formally organized on December 9, 1910.⁵² Divide county is bounded on the north and west by the state boundaries; on the south by the line between townships 159 and 160; and on the east by the line between ranges 94 and 95.⁵³

At the general election in November, 1910, the proposal to segregate Golden Valley county from Billings county was endorsed, the vote being 837 for and 756 against the division of Billings county. However, Golden Valley county was not organized until November 19, 1912.⁵⁴ The delay in the creation of the county was due to extended litigation.

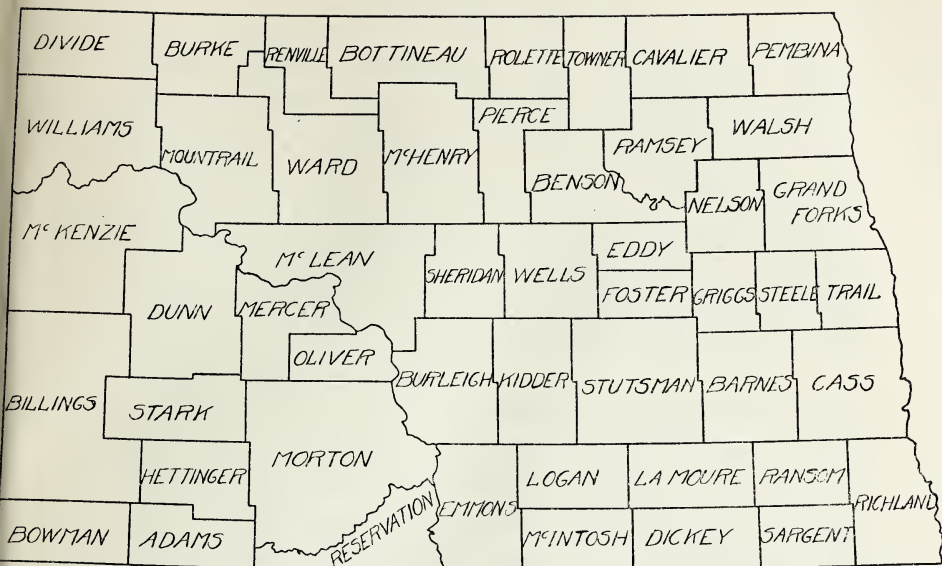
There were four propositions to divide Billings county submitted to the voters at the election.

⁵⁰ Map 34, opp. p. 246.

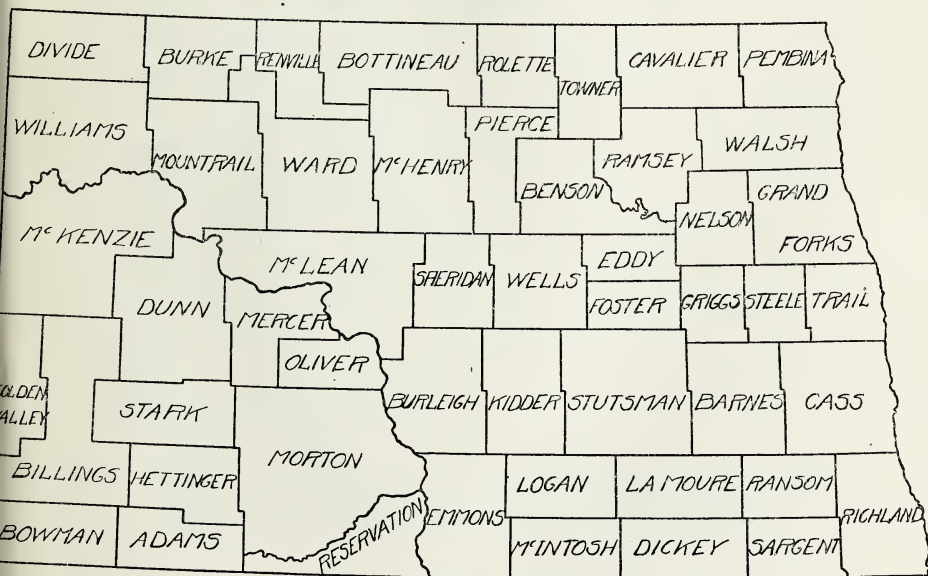
⁵¹ The vote on the proposition could not be ascertained.

⁵² Data supplied by Thomas Hall, Secretary of State, from state records.

⁵³ Map 34, opp. p. 246.



MAP-34



MAP-35

The official returns by the canvassing board showed that two of the new counties had been defeated, but Golden Valley county had been created by the vote given above. A contest was instituted in the district court by the plaintiff to test the correctness of the said returns. The decision in the district court was adverse to Golden Valley county, which appealed the case to the State Supreme Court.⁵⁵

The opinion of the Supreme Court, filed June 29, 1912, reversed the decision of the lower court. It was held that the several precinct election officers who made returns of their respective votes upon state and county officials upon the printed blanks furnished for that purpose, and attached thereto by means of metallic fasteners the tally sheet used by them in counting the county division votes, had used enough writing and figures on the tally sheets to conform to the requirements of a certificate for the vote. After deducting all ballots shown to be illegal and all ballots not produced from the four precincts not canvassed, there still remained a majority for the creation of the new county, Golden Valley, and the trial court was instructed to so find. A motion for the rehearing of the case was denied on September 19, 1912.⁵⁶

Golden Valley county includes the following

⁵⁴ Data given by James A. Berry, auditor of Billings county.

⁵⁵ The facts are given in opinion of Justice Burke, 23 *N. D.*, 551.

⁵⁶ 23 *N. D.*, 547.

territory: townships 137, 138, 139, and 140, ranges 103, 104, 105, and 106; townships 141, 142, 143, and 144, ranges 103, 104, and 105; and township 136, ranges 105 and 106.⁵⁷

Sioux county was created by proclamation of Governor L. B. Hanna on September 3, 1914. It was the last county in the state to be organized under the general law providing for the organization of unorganized territory.⁵⁸ Sioux county comprises the territory formerly included in the Standing Rock Indian Reservation. It is bounded on the north by the Cannon Ball river, on the west by the line between ranges 90 and 91, on the south by the state boundary, and on the east by the Missouri river.⁵⁹

At the general election held on November 3, 1914, the question of segregating Slope county from Billings county was submitted to the voters. There were 740 votes cast in favor of the new county and 356 votes cast against it.⁶⁰ The county was accordingly organized on January 14, 1915.⁶¹ Slope county includes the following territory: townships 133, 134, and 135, ranges 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, and 106, and township 136, ranges 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, and 104.⁶²

⁵⁷ Map 35, opp. p. 246.

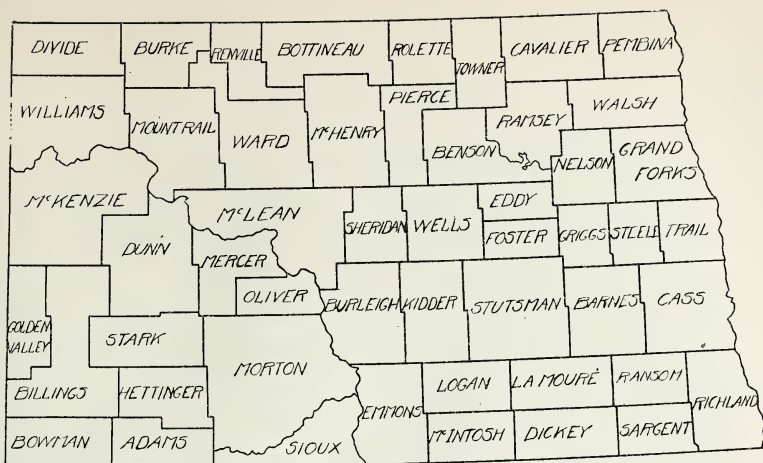
⁵⁸ Letter of A. McG. Beede, County Judge of Sioux county, dated April 29, 1919.

⁵⁹ Map 36, opp. p. 248.

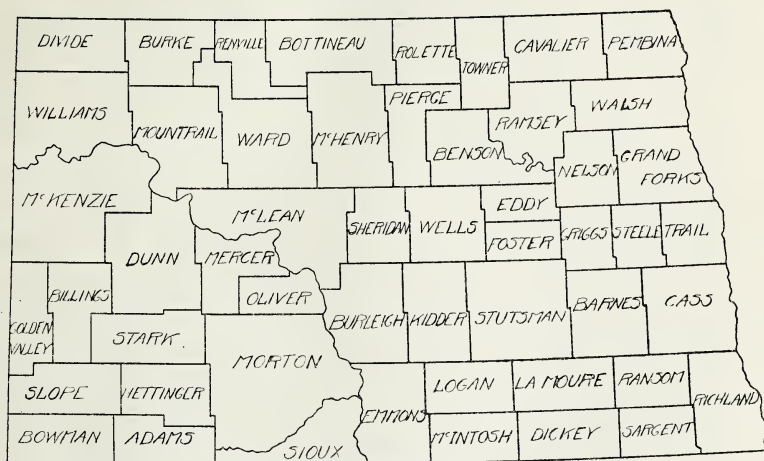
⁶⁰ Data supplied by Thomas Hall from the state records.

⁶¹ Letter of J. A. Berry, auditor of Billings county, dated May 6, 1919.

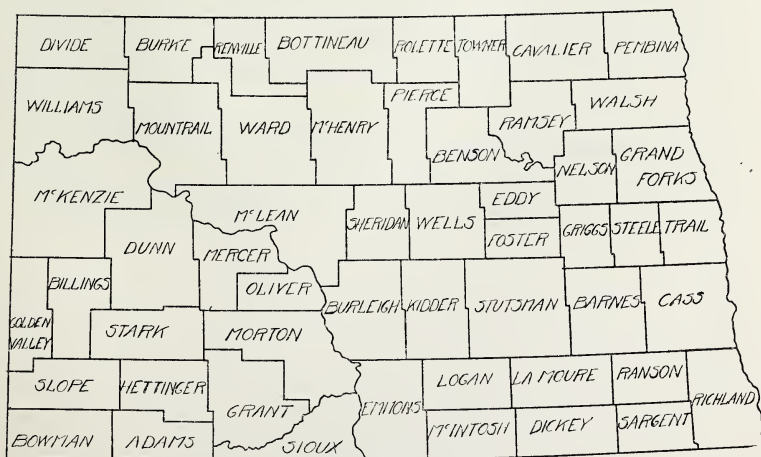
⁶² Map 37, opp. p. 248.



MAP-36



MAP-37



MAP-38

The last county to be organized in North Dakota was Grant county. Grant county was separated from Morton county at the general election held on November 7, 1916, at which 3,136 votes were cast in favor of and 1,718 against the division of Morton county. It was formally organized on November 25, 1916.⁶³ The boundaries of Grant county are described as follows: beginning at the intersection of the Cannon Ball river with the line between ranges 90 and 91; thence north along the line between ranges 90 and 91 to the line between townships 137 and 138; thence east along the line between townships 137 and 138 to the northeast corner of township 137, range 88; thence south along the line between ranges 87 and 88 to the southeast corner of township 137, range 88; thence east along the ninth standard parallel to the line between ranges 84 and 85; thence south along the line between ranges 84 and 85 to the line between townships 133 and 134; thence east along the line between townships 133 and 134 to the line between ranges 82 and 83; thence south along the line between ranges 82 and 83 to the Cannon Ball river; thence westerly and south-westerly along the Cannon Ball river to the place of beginning.⁶⁴

In 1916 North Dakota had fifty-three coun-

⁶³ Data supplied by Thomas Hall, from the state records.

⁶⁴ Map 38, opp. p. 248.

ties, and every county had an organized government. While it is possible that more counties may be organized in the future by the division of several of the counties which are still of considerable size, it is probable that county organization, always a prominent movement in a new and rapidly developing state, has almost reached an equilibrium.

This study undertakes merely to set forth the facts of county organization as they are shown by laws and maps. A wealth of interesting history pertaining to the motives and methods underlying the numerous changes described here undoubtedly exists, but it is to be found only in hidden archives or learned only through oral tradition—sources of information not available when this account was written. If this preliminary study of county organization can be made of service as a basis of further study of county history, it will have served its purpose.

The first ten maps in the series were copied from Outline Maps for an Historical Atlas of the United States by Prof. F. H. Hodder of the State University of Kansas. Permission to use these maps was obtained from the author and also from the publisher, Ginn & Co., and acknowledgment of this courtesy is made at this time. [Ed.]

A SKETCH OF THE MINNESOTA MASSACRE

By

VICTOR RENVILLE

Victor Renville, grandfather of the present Victor Renville, the subject of this sketch, was killed by a band of Chippewas in 1832. His Indian name was Ohiya, translated Victor by the English. Renville was born and reared among the Dakotas. He was of mixed blood but in language, habits and appearance he was a full-blood Dakota and he was, besides, a warrior of considerable note.

In 1832, Victor was traveling with a Dakota war party on a raid against their hereditary enemies, the Chippewas, when the party came upon three traders at a small post on the Mississippi River near what is now Fort Ripley. The traders had their Chippewa wives with them and the Dakotas saw here an opportunity to get some enemy scalps by killing the women. Victor and three other warriors opposed this and a council was called to decide the question. Victor and his three comrades in opposing the opinion of most of the band, argued that in case the well-armed traders were attacked, it would result in a heavy loss to the Dakotas. And also, if the traders were

killed and the post burned, no more white men would come to trade guns and ammunition for the furs and robes of the Dakotas and they could not successfully meet the Chippewas in battle without the white man's weapons. In the end the council followed the advice of Victor and his friends and the band went on its way, the four Dakotas remaining behind.

The three warriors who were with Victor were: A-na-wau-ma-ni (Trotting-Along-Over-Something); Ho-ton-ho-was-te (Loud-Sounding-Good-Voice), eldest brother of the well known Other-Day; and Ka-hre (the name of a stranger tribe down the Mississippi River). The traders were very grateful to these four and gave each of them a fine present. Last of all, the traders gave them a boat and the four set out to return by river the next morning for their village.

At noon of the next day a war party of Chippewas arrived at the post and learned from one of the trader's wives that four of the enemy had left that morning by river. At this point there is a wide bend in the Mississippi, and four of the younger warriors who were anxious to distinguish themselves decided to cross the neck of land and intercept the Dakota canoe when it appeared around the bend the next morning. All that afternoon and all the following night the Chippewa warriors worked their way through

the heavy underbrush and timber and reached the other side of the bend by dawn. There they concealed themselves and waited for the canoe. They did not have long to wait for in a short time the canoe appeared.

The Dakotas were carelessly paddling near the shore and the Chippewas allowed the canoe to come very close. Victor, who was directing the course of the canoe from the bow and whose strong build and handsome appearance showed him to be the leader, was the target of the Chippewas. All four fired at him and he fell dead in the canoe. After the volley the remaining Dakotas paddled desperately until they were out of range of the Chippewa rifles and then went on down the river until they believed they were safe from pursuit. The Dakotas then took the body of their comrade from the canoe and performed the Indian burial rites, washing and painting the face, combing the hair, and wrapping the body in a blanket. They then placed the body in a sitting posture against a great oak tree. The Chippewas had followed the canoe down the river, keeping out of sight in the underbrush, and when they saw the Dakotas take the body of their comrade from the canoe and leave it on the bank, they returned to the post and told the party that they had killed Joseph Renville's brother. The whole band then set out in canoes and found Victor's

body just as it had been left. The Chippewas built a fire, scalped their enemy, and burned his body. Later when a large party of Dakota men and women came from their village to take the body back for burial, they found only the bones among the ashes. They carried these remains back to the village of Lac Qui Parle and buried them there.

The father of the present Victor Renville, Gabriel, was born in April, 1825, at Big Stone Lake. Joseph Brown was a trader on Bad Island, on the west side of Lake Traverse. At Lac Qui Parle, Brown married Susan, the fourteen-year-old daughter of Iron Ring (Winona Crawford), and a half sister of Gabriel Renville. Shortly after his father's death, Gabriel was taken by Joseph Brown to his farm at Sacred Tree. From here he took Gabriel to Prairie du Chien where he placed him in a school. The boy ran away from school and returned to Brown's farm on foot, almost starving on the way. Brown did not send the boy back to school, but Gabriel always regretted the fact that he did not take this opportunity to get an education. At about sixteen years of age, Brown took the boy with him on his trading trips among the Indians.

In 1847, Gabriel was married at Buffalo Lake, between Webster and Bristol, and went to live at Lac Qui Parle where he remained for a year.

While here the present Victor Renville was born, November 13, 1849.

In the spring of 1850, Gabriel and Joseph Brown moved with their families to St. Paul, locating south of the Wabasha bridge on the south side of the Mississippi River. Their purpose in moving here was to secure land by means of the Indian land scrip that they held. For three years the two families lived here and in 1853 moved again. This time Antoine (son of Joseph Renville and uncle of Gabriel), accompanied the families of Gabriel and Joseph Brown. They moved to what is now Renville county, between Fort Ridgely and New Ulm. Three more years were spent here and in 1856 the three families moved to a place a few miles west of Big Stone Lake. Finally they settled, in 1859, at the Upper Yellow Medicine Agency where Joseph Brown was the agent and Gabriel was boss farmer under him. In this community there lived also Gabriel's cousins, Antoine and Michelle, and their families.

Gabriel's farm was situated across the Minnesota River from the Government saw mill. He was able to put up excellent farm buildings here, having his lumber sawed at the mill. The foundations and chimneys of his buildings were made of brick which he hauled from the agency. There were two mission schools near Gabriel's

home. One was in charge of Dr. Stephen R. Riggs and the other in charge of Dr. Thomas S. Williamson. Dr. Williamson's school was situated on the west side of the Minnesota River and here the young Victor began to get his schooling in 1857. He went to school several years, spending his vacations and summers at home and staying at the agency during the school year. Gabriel prospered here and soon had acquired considerable livestock.

During this time several things had occurred that helped to bring on the massacre of 1862. The treaty of 1851 provided that the Indians be given interest payments amounting to \$45,000, which was to be divided as follows: \$10,000 for clothing, etc., \$5,000 for schools and \$12,000 for farm machinery. In 1858, the treaty was changed by the federal government so that only Indians on eighty acre improved farms could get this aid. A council of Indian chiefs was called to Washington and when they returned they said that they had not agreed to the changes in the treaty. Also, the Indian reservation on the east side of the Minnesota River, a strip about ten miles wide, was opened to white settlers and the Indians who had been living there were forced to leave. These occurrences created an ill feeling that was intensified by the illicit sale of liquor among the Indians.

The trouble started with some members of Lit-

tle Crow's band who stopped at a farm house to ask for some bread. One of the party had some eggs which he had taken from a nest along the road. When the farmer's wife saw the eggs she became angry and drove the warriors out of the house and prevented them from returning. When the rest of the party saw this they taunted their comrades for being afraid of a white woman. This ridicule enraged the warriors and one of the number fired the shot that began the massacre at this point.

On an August evening in 1862, Victor was returning on horseback from the agency which was four or five miles from his home, when he was stopped by two Indians who were armed with guns and bows and arrows. One of the strangers motioned to him to stop and exchange saddle blankets. Victor did this, although his blanket was a newer one than that of the stranger. Then the Indian said, "Now put on your saddle and go on. I want both of them." Again Victor did as he was told, wondering what these strangers could be doing in this part of the country. He thought he would stop at Two Stars' house on the way home and tell him of the incident and perhaps find out the mission of the strangers.

When Victor arrived at the house, Two Stars came outside and said: "Tell your father that there are some spies here from the Lower Red

Wood Agency who are telling that all the whites, traders and half-breeds are to be killed. This is a rumor, but your father had better look out."

Victor rode home and told his father what Two Stars had said. About eight o'clock that evening Two Stars and his wife came to Gabriel's home. They talked over the outbreak that was then just getting under way and discussed the best action for them to take in escaping the massacre. When they came to a decision it was very late, so Two Stars and his wife stayed all night at Gabriel's.

Just before daybreak Gabriel heard a knock at the door. Not knowing who it might be, he started to dress and prepare to defend himself in case of attack. Before he got to the door a man outside called to him, "I come with very bad news. At Lower Sioux Bird Agency traders and half-breeds were killed yesterday. I am going on to tell Dr. Riggs over the river." Gabriel never knew who the messenger was.

Gabriel awakened the rest of the household and told them that he intended to ride over to the Agency and warn the people there. If he did not return by ten o'clock they would know he had been killed and Two Stars could hitch up and take the family to Brown's Valley where they would be safe. When ten o'clock arrived, Gabriel did not appear. Two Stars hitched up the horses to the wagon and started off with the fam-

ily as Gabriel had told them to do. They had not gone more than eighty rods when they saw a rider come up to the house, waving his hat for them to come back. They turned back and discovered the rider to be Tom Crawford. He told them that Gabriel had sent for them to come and take refuge in the brick building of the agency. Victor's mother then began to pack more of their belongings into the wagon and while she was doing this Tom Crawford rode off and Victor tried in vain to keep up with him. About half way to the agency, Victor met his father riding hard. As he had fallen far behind Crawford, Victor turned and rode back with his father past where Dr. Williamson lived.

As they approached Dr. Williamson's place they saw him standing in the road waiting to meet them. He asked Gabriel about the rumors he had heard and Gabriel told him what was going on at the agency and what had happened at the Red Wood Agency, and warned him to go east for safety. But Dr. Williamson replied that he was an old man and was not afraid, and would rather die than run away. Gabriel replied that it was the young men who were crazy and making the trouble at the reservation. Dr. Williamson's sister Anna then went over to the house of Chief I-yank-ma-ni. Victor and his father went on to warn the people at the saw mill who were

exceedingly frightened upon hearing of the danger they were in. As they left the mill, Victor and his father met two Indians, E-ce-tu-ki-ye and Wa-su-ho-was-te, who said that they had taken Dr. Riggs' family to the east side of the Minnesota River and were on their way to get Dr. Williamson's family and the mill employees. Gabriel told them that it was a good thing they were doing.

A little further on in the woods, Gabriel and Victor met Two Stars and the rest of the family in the wagon. They joined the wagon and all rode together toward the agency. When they passed the mill and Dr. Williamson's place, they saw all the people packing up to go off. When the party arrived at the agency buildings, they found that the white people had all left and only the Indians remained, among whom, they learned, there were many Lower Agency Indians. They went to Crawford's house and outside they found Gabriel's mother crying. She said that Charles Crawford had ridden down to see if Susan Brown (Gabriel's sister) and her family were all right, but he had not yet returned and she believed he had been killed. Gabriel told her to go into the house and wait for Crawford to return. Shortly after noon of that day he returned with the news that Susan's family had left and since there were hostile Indians in the country it

was very likely they had been killed. Toward evening some hostile Dakotas came into the agency and said that Brown's family was being held captive at Little Crow's house.

For about two weeks, the friendly Dakotas and the half-breeds stayed together at the agency brick building. Soon the hostile Indians began coming up into the Yellow Medicine country. Some warriors sent word up to the agency and demanded that the buildings be vacated. The hostiles said that the soldiers were on the way there and unless the buildings were destroyed they would furnish a fort for the troops. So rather than have the buildings burned over their heads the whole band set out for Dr. Riggs' place.

On the way they learned that the hostiles were camped about a mile and a half from the agency and that they were holding a number of women and children prisoners. They also learned that the agency building had been burned. Gabriel did not like to see these women and children prisoners suffering. He said that it was fair to take men prisoners, but not the women and children. When they arrived at Dr. Riggs' place, where the buildings were not yet burned by the hostiles, the party made camp. There were already a number of Indians encamped there and among them was John B. Renville, a son of the Joseph Renville mentioned above. Gabriel went to them and told

them of the women and children captives. They agreed with him upon a plan to liberate them. Gabriel called to him two head chiefs of the Upper Agency Indians, Ma-za-ku-te-ma-ni (Cloud Man), and Ma-zo-ma-ni, and told them to go to the hostiles and try to persuade them to give up their prisoners because they were not fighting women and children.

So they called a council of all those camped here and Gabriel supplied a beef. They decided also to call in the head chiefs of the hostiles who were camped a few miles away. The friendly Indians and the half-breeds had gathered in council ready for the feast, but before they could send their messengers to the other camp they saw a band of armed hostiles riding toward them with their chiefs in front. When they came up to within two or three rods of the council, Ma-zo-ma-ni rose up and said to them: "We were about to send for you. Get down and eat with us and tell us why you come."

The women and children stood in a dense mass back of the council circle, afraid of what might happen. Finally after some discussion among themselves, the warriors got down and ate with the others in the council. When they were about through, Ma-zo-ma-ni stood up and made a speech. He said that the hostiles were fighting the whi'es, a very strong nation, and that the

white women and children had been taken captive.

"We think," he told them, "that you are fighting only the men, so you can let the women and children go back to their people. This is what we ask."

One of the soldier band among the hostiles stood up and answered that they knew the white people were too strong for them, but their object was to make the white women and children stay with them and suffer with them when the whites drove them out of the country. Following this speech, the hostile warriors mounted and before riding away they said that all the half-breeds and friendly Indians must come to their camp and unite forces with them the next day, otherwise they would return and force them to join.

After the hostiles left, an old man, Nach-pi-yaw-wi-ca-xta, got up and said that these hostiles, after breaking all treaties and causing the friendly Indians to lose their annuities, were now planning to make them all captives. He also said that they must send out messengers to call all the camps together and prepare to attack the hostiles. Accordingly, two messengers went out and in about two hours all the friendly Indians came together, in all about fifty or sixty tents. About a hundred well armed fighting men, led by two chiefs, set out for the hostile camp. They rode

in among the tents of the hostiles, shouting and firing their guns, and the next day the hostiles did not attack the friendly camp.

In two or three days the friendly camp increased to one hundred tents and again the warriors rode over to the hostile camp planning on capturing the white prisoners. The friendly warriors could accomplish nothing and barely avoided a fight with the other camp.

When word was received of the approach of more hostiles, the friendly Indians struck camp and went up the river, pitching camp on the west side. The hostiles followed and camped a mile away. The friendly Indians then held a council and sent General Sibley a letter written by Thomas Robertson, who had escaped from the hostile camp. He, with a comrade, carried the letter to Fort Ridgely. Robertson was allowed to enter the fort blindfolded and was able to explain to Sibley what the friendly Indians were trying to do. He also carried Sibley's letter back to the friendly camp with the message that the general was not fighting his friends among the Indians and half-breeds.

General Sibley then assembled his troops and started marching upon the hostiles. When he drew near he sent a young man to ride to the friendly camp and get the assistance of the warriors there. He told them that if they did not

fight with him they would be punished. So the friendly Indians rode out to help the soldiers and warned them of what the hostiles planned to do.

Little Crow, chief of the hostiles, then ordered all friendly Indians to join him in the attack on Sibley's forces. He called a general council of friendlies and hostiles to meet where the trader's house had stood at the Upper Agency. Little Crow told them that he had counted the soldiers' tents and that they were fewer than his own. He stated that his plan of attack was to surround the soldiers at night, stampede their horses and mules, and take the troops by surprise.

Gabriel got up and opposed this plan because he feared the hostiles would succeed in defeating the soldiers. He said that the camp could not be taken by surprise as the troops had sentinels posted on every side. He also declared that in a night attack many young warriors would be killed, so he proposed to wait until the soldiers were on the march when they could be ambushed and taken by surprise. About half of the council agreed with Gabriel and the debate continued until morning without result.

Early in the morning the half-breeds and friendly Indians rode out ahead of the attacking hostiles and by showing themselves here and there, gave plenty of warning. When the attack began the soldiers were ready and by the

unexpected use of cannon the enemy was driven off. The hostiles now rode back to their own camp and began to make ready to escape. This gave the friendly Indians and half-breeds an opportunity to ride into the hostile camp and snatch the women and children captives from the Indians who were about to carry them off. They carried these prisoners to their own camp which they defended with ditches and breastworks. Over the camp of the friendly Indians floated a white flag as a sign that they were not hostile to the whites.

Sibley's forces scoured the country for hostile Indians and succeeded in taking more than four hundred. The troops then rushed in upon what remained of the hostile camp and took all the captives and supplies. They then established a court and tried their Indian prisoners. Each man was questioned and asked to give an account of himself. Those found to have committed atrocities were placed in irons and many of them were later hanged.

General Sibley gave the Renvilles permission to go back to their homes but Gabriel did not care to do this because all his buildings had been burned and there were still hostile Indians wandering about the country. Instead of returning home, Gabriel suggested that Sibley let him pick a band of warriors to scout the surrounding country

for hostiles and tell the friendly Indians that it was safe to return. Sibley had to get permission from General Pope before he could grant this. When he received the permission Gabriel picked the following warriors: Antoine, Michelle, Isaac and Daniel Renville, John Moore, Big Tom Robertson (not the one living near Lidgerwood), Two Stars, E-ce-tu-ki-ye, Wa-su-ho-wa-shte, E-ni-han, Joseph La Framboise and Alexius La Framboise. General Sibley sent these scouts out from Fort Snelling in wagons with white drivers. Camp was made up the Minnesota River half way between the two agencies and about thirty-five miles from Fort Ridgely.

From March to June, 1863, this band of scouts was at work. Half the party would go out at one time, leaving the other half to guard the camp. Supplies were hauled from Fort Ridgely with two teams that the two La Framboise had taken with them.

Following is a list of camps at which scouts were stationed from 1863 to 1865:

1. Sheyenne River Post; Indian name, To-an-kan-xa-ci-ye; located at the south side of a big bend of the Sheyenne. Charles Crawford acted as outlook here and killed several Indians on hostile raids.

2. Twin Lakes; Little Paul in charge.

3. Skunk Lake; Indian name, Ma-ka-le-de; the half-breed, Scott, in charge.

4. Bone Hill; Indian name, Hu-hu-pa-ha; located south of Jamestown on the James River; Charles Crawford in charge previously at Station No. 15. Sam Brown reports that he saw a ring of buffalo bones on this hill. This ring was about three feet in diameter and composed entirely of the small bones taken from the front leg of the buffalo back of the shin. There were very many of these bones placed so close together that they touched each other. The west bank of the James River at Jamestown was called the place where they cut bows. Rock Elm trees supplied the wood for these bows. At an early time the Upper Yanktons lived here. The Dakota name for Jamestown is E-ta-zo-pe-o-kak-se.

5. Elm River; Indian name, Pe-wak-pa; located fifty or sixty miles west of Fort Wadsworth; in charge of Joe Roulliard; Elm River flows into the James.

6. Snake River; Stands-Firmly (E-kan-a-gin-ka) in charge of post.

7. Drifted Guts; Indian name, Shu-pe-cho-ge; Inihau (Excited) in charge; located southwest of Fort Wadsworth near Enemy Swim Lake; named from some guts found drifted in upon shore of Enemy Swim Lake.

8. Hawk's Nest; Indian name, He-cha-o-te;

located south of Camp No. 7; Two Stars in charge.

9. Dry Wood Lake; Indian name, Tshau-she-sha; located near Sisseton on east side of the lake.

10. Lake Traverse; Indian name, Ptan-sin-ta; located just above the iron post on the hill; Sets-Fire-to-Hail (Wa-su-e-de-ya) in charge. This scout was killed May 1, 1869, by Flat Mouth and his band

11. Cottonwood Grove; Indian name, Na-go-zhu-na; Gabriel Renville, superintendent of scouts, in charge. This was the main camp and was located five miles east of Aberdeen on the James River.

12. Oak Grove; Indian name, U-to-ho-zhu; located on the east bend of the James River, thirty miles south of Aberdeen. E-sha-na-ji-ka in charge.

13. Surrendered Camp; located on Fish Lake, six miles northeast of Fort Wadsworth on the road to Fort Abercrombie. Scarlet Plume (Red Feather) came into Sibley's camp just before the battle of Big Mound and before Dr. Weiser was killed to see Gabriel Renville and tell him that his band and that of Standing Buffalo were ready to surrender. This camp was a headquarters for all surrendered Indians willing to stop fighting and return to the reservation with their fami-

lies. In 1863 about fifty of the scouts were sent from this camp to meet fifteen lodges of Indians who were coming down from Canada to surrender. They met the party five miles north of Fort Wadsworth. Gabriel found among them two Indians known to have committed atrocities during the massacre and gave orders for them to be shot. One of the scouts, Star, shot one of the hostiles while he was seated smoking with his companion. Star's rifle missed fire the second time and the other Indian ran. The Indians in camp scattered and all the scouts opened fire on the fleeing Indian. Joe Demarrais, Jr., brought him down just as he leaped over a mound. During the chase one Indian woman was wounded by a spent ball. The hostile shot by Star was found to be the grandson of Inkpadute. The father of the other hostile warrior wailed for an hour and then stopped and said, "I told my son not to go into the fighting against the whites."

14. Fort Wadsworth; Indian name, Kettle Found (Cgar-i-ye-ya-pi); Sam Brown in charge.

15. Head of Coteau Station. Twelve or fifteen miles about north of Fort Wadsworth. Commander chief of scouts, Charles Crawford. Given by Samuel J. Brown and Brown's Valley.

In June, 1863, Sibley came to headquarters camp on his expedition against the Sioux and took with him all the scouts at the headquarters,

in all about twenty. He furnished them with horses and rifles. Up to that time they had received blankets from Fort Ridgely, and such guns as had been taken from the hostiles.

The force was reorganized in 1864 and by 1865 numbered two hundred. In July, 1864, Fort Wadsworth was established. The soldiers lived in tents and dugouts during the following winter. The next year, 1865, buildings were erected.

APPENDIX

GENEALOGY OF VICTOR RENVILLE

Victor Renville—wife, Iron Ring.¹

I. Daughters—Leader-of-the-Wind and a second daughter—both died young.

II. Son—Gabriel (Te-wa-kan).

1. First wife, Mary G. Married 1847; died August, 1897.

Daughters:

Sarah—died at 8 years.

Nancy.

Sarah—named after the first daughter.

Sons:

Victor.

Moses.

John—died at Carlisle.

Another boy who died at a few months of age.

2. Second wife—Hannah. Married 1858; died 1892; first wife's sister.

Daughters:

Susan.

Sons:

Peter.

Sampson.

Harry.

3. Third wife—Susan. Married 1860; first wife's sister.

Daughters:

Lydia.

Sons:

Eli—died 1895.

James.

Herman.

GENEALOGY OF JOSEPH RENVILLE

Joseph Renville.

I. Sons:

Joseph.

One son, Daniel; other children died young.

Michelle.

John B. Renville.

Antoine.

One son, Isaac Renville; other children died young.

Daughter, Margaret (Oi-ya-tan-ke-wa-za-win).

II. Four daughters:

Red Woman, Joseph's eldest daughter. She married a white clerk of her father's, called Writer (Wo-wa-pu-ko-ga).

Iron Hair—Mrs. Campbell.

Mrs. Campbell.

Hail (Wa-su).

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